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DISCOURSE, PARAGRAPH, and SENTENCE STRUCTURE in SELECTED PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

VOLUME II

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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Robert E. Longacre

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The Summer Institute of Linguistics
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Santa Ana, California 92702

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0 Theory of sentence structure

As with discourse and paragraph in Vol. I, so here certain assumptions and postulates regarding sentence structure are prefaced to the summary and interpretative material which follows in this volume.

(1) The grammatical sentence (G-sentence) is subject to certain phonological constraints (i.e. relates as follows to the phonological or P-sentence): (a) A G-sentence cannot be posited if it involves a pattern that regularly or obligatorily breaks into two P-sentences (i.e. has obligatory medial final juncture); but a G-sentence may be posited which optionally structures as one or two P-sentences (i.e. has optional medial final juncture). (b) A putative G-sentence with deleted (or nul) conjunction is considered to be one G-sentence if and only if it is also one P-sentence (i.e. is not interrupted by final juncture).

(2) There is a finite number of sentence types in a given language with extensive recursive embedding of one type within another.

(3) The sentence types of a language form a system with stateable parameters. *Relator-Axis Sentences* are extra-systemic. The *Simple Sentence* is extra-systemic in some languages but patterns as part of the system of sentences in other languages.

(4) There is a basic distinction of nucleus and periphery within the sentence. Each sentence type has a unique nucleus. The periphery is common to all types.

(5) The periphery divides into inner and outer periphery. The outer periphery normally precedes or brackets both the inner periphery and the nucleus. The inner periphery may precede or follow the sentence nucleus with which it is normally contiguous.

(6) The outer periphery includes such tagmemes as *Sentence Conjunction*, *Exclamation*, *Vocative*, and *Echo Question* which are expounded by morphemes, words and phrases. Embedded sentences which expound tagmemes other than the *Quotation* of a *Quotation Sentence* do not contain an outer periphery.

(7) The inner periphery includes the *Sentence Topic* and the margin tagmemes. The latter are (with the exception of *Time* and *Cause Margins*) expounded exclusively by *Relator-Axis Sentences*. Margin tagmemes express such functions as: time, extent, circumstances, concession, condition, cause, purpose, and result. The margins may form a system with parameters.

(8) Nuclear sentence tagmemes are of two sorts: (a) *Links* and *Markers* (expounded by conjunctions and particles, or complexes of conjunctions and particles); and (b) *Bases* (expounded by clauses, embedded sentences, and phrases. Various sorts of *Bases* are distinguished. One sort of base of frequent occurrence is the *Formula*, i.e. a base of somewhat stereotyped form with heavy lexical restriction. Formulas are used in *Quotation Sentences*; in *Sentences of Inference*, *Comparison*, *Benefit*, and the like; and in *Alternation Sentences* in some languages.

(9) Contrasting sets of conjunctions (including unit sets and the nul set) distinguish various *Link* and *Marker* tagmemes and as such constitute important criteria for distinguishing the nuclei of distinct sentence types.

(10) While the morphemes and syntagmemes that expound nuclear *Link* or *Marker* and *Base* tagmemes form one sort of criteria for distinguishing sentence types, further criteria are the permutations, deletions, and transformations that operate on the exponents of nuclear tagmemes.

(11) Certain sentence nuclei involve relations assumed to be primitives on the sentence level, i.e. *Simple*, *Coordination*, *Antithesis*, *Alternation*, and *Quotation*.

(12) Other sentence nuclei are derived in various ways: (a) by incorporating the exponents of two or more consecutive tagmemes in a paragraph structure into a sentence nucleus; (b) by adding a further *Marker* which cross-references to a sentence margin and thus brings the *Relator-Axis Sentence* which expounds the latter into the nucleus; (c) by creating a nucleus consisting of two normally dependent constructions, (i.e. *Relator-Axis Sentences*, gerundatives, or clauses with dependent tense); (d) by deleting the *Relator* from a *Relator-Axis Sentence* (which expounds a margin) and thus creating a new juxtaposed *Base* which joins the sentence nucleus; (e) by partially merging two *Bases* that are separated by nul or weak conjunction; and (f) by specializing and expanding a clause structure to become a sentence nucleus.

(13) Whether primitive or derived the systemic sentence nuclei divide according to (a) those characterized by some sort of *conjoining*, and (b) those with a *Formula* tagmeme or sentence-level equation. The primitive nuclei among the former are *Coordinate*, *Antithetical*, and *Alternation Sentences* (when the latter has no *Formula*). The primitive sentences among the latter are: *Direct Quotation*, and any sort of non-speech *Indirect Quotation* or other non-derived sentence types with *Formulas*. *Equational Sentences* are derived. The *Simple Sentence* is a further primitive on the sentence level.

(14) The logical relations expressed within the sentence partially overlap with certain relations holding between parts of contiguous G-sentences (these parts often form L-sentences); with certain relations expressed on the clause-level, and with certain relations expressed on the paragraph level. There is no simple mapping of logical relations into grammatical relations at any hierarchical level.

In that points (1) and (14) are not otherwise discussed in this volume, I expound on them briefly here. Common to these two points is a consideration of three sorts of sentences: the *Phonological Sentence*, the *Grammatical Sentence*, and the *Lexical Sentence*. While the grammatical sentence is our preoccupation in this volume, it can not be wholly understood out of context with the other two sorts of sentences.

0.1 Phonological and grammatical sentences

It is assumed here that phonological as well as grammatical hierarchy exists. Such a unit as a phonological sentence may be posited in any language. It has a characteristic sentence-final juncture and other unifying features as well (e.g. intonation contour). This phonological unit is not necessarily in one-to-one correspondence with the grammatical sentence. Nevertheless, the latter is not posited without consideration of the former. Point (1) above, which summarizes the relationship of the phonological to the grammatical sentence, is stated more fully by Lawrence Reid as follows (although his rules are framed primarily for Bontoc they appear to be of general relevance):

> "In first attempts at analysis of Grammatical Sentences, considerable confusion was caused through undue reliance on phonological criteria for establishing Grammatical Sentence boundaries. In transcribing texts phonological criteria are normally followed in deciding when to place a comma or a period. In fact a comma is the normal grapheme for a nonfinal sentence intonation, and period is the normal grapheme for final sentence intonation. However, in many instances logical relations which are lexically marked, such as Alternation, Antithesis and Coordination, and which are considered to be indicative of Grammatical Sentence types occur across Phonological Sentence boundaries. There is evidently no one-to-one correspondence between Phonological and Grammatical Sentences. A series of hypotheses have therefore been formed to enable consistent decisions to be made in determining Grammatical Sentence boundaries.
>
> "These rules, then, govern the mapping of Phonological on to Grammatical Sentences in Bontoc.
> "1. Two Clauses whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of one Grammatical Sentence if there is a link (e.g. a conjunction) present functioning on the Sentence level.
> "2. Two Clauses phonologically bound, form all or part of one Grammatical Sentence where no such link is present but one can be plausibly supplied.
> "3. Two Clauses not phonologically bound (i.e. separated by final sentence intonation), form all or part of two Grammatical Sentences where no link is present, even though a link may be plausibly supplied.
> "4. Two Clauses whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of two Grammatical Sentences where a link is present whose function is to link structures higher than the Sentence level.

"5. Two Clauses whether phonologically bound or not, form all or part of two Grammatical Sentences when there is no link present and none can be plausibly supplied.

"These rules may be formalized as follows:

1. A,/. link B = 1GS ← 1/2 PS
2. A, (link) B = 1GS ← 1 PS
3. A. (link) B = 2GS ← 2 PS
4. A,/. link B = 2GS ← 1/2 PS
5. A,/.B = 2GS ← 1/2 PS

"Key

A B = consecutive Clauses
link = Sentence level link (conjunction or lexical tie)
link = higher than Sentence level link (conjunction or lexical tie)
(link) = supplied link
, = nonfinal phonological junction
. = final phonological junction
/ = or
GS = Grammatical Sentence
PS = Phonological Sentence
← = maps onto"

0.2 Grammatical sentence and lexical sentence

While the grammatical sentence is particularly subject to phonological constraints, the lexical sentence is particularly subject to grammatical constraints. Thus, if we concern ourselves with the mapping of lexical sentences onto grammatical sentences and then of grammatical sentences onto phonological sentences we probably proceed more surely.

In Vol. I, Part 3, Sec. 2.2.21 and 2.3 attention is given to the relations of grammatical and phonological sentences within PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. The correlation of the sorts of sentences in other discourse genre, (noticeably EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY) has not been attempted as yet. My coauthor of that part of Vol. I, Miss Myra Lou Barnard, posits seven types of lexical sentences, each of which she carefully maps onto grammatical structures. One such lexical sentence (Type I) involves paraphrase or amplification. This lexical category constitutes a lexical sentence which may encode grammatically as (a) all or part of one grammatical sentence and the Time Margin of the next grammatical sentence; (b) as a Paraphrase Sentence; (c) as a sequence of two grammatical sentences which expound TEXT and EXPO on the paragraph level.

Consider also another lexical sentence (Type V) which indicates *simultaneity*. In Dibabawon two simultaneous actions may encode grammatically (a) as the *Bases* of a *Coordinate*, *Juxtaposed*, or *Merged Sentence*; (b) as *Base* plus *Time Margin*; (c) as *Indirect Quotation Formula* followed by *Indirect Quotation* ('I *saw* that he was *coming*'); (d) as two simple sentences in sequence within a paragraph--where Myra Lou Barnard says that they expound TEXT and EXPO. In some languages simultaneous events may encode as a specific *Simultaneous Sentence* (cf. Inibaloi and Agta). Consider finally, her lexical category of *delineation* (lexical sentence Type VI). Here a second element describes or qualifies a first element. Such a lexical sentence may grammatically encode as (a) a *Base* and a *Conditional Margin*; (b) two grammatical sentences which expound TEXT-EXPO on the paragraph level; (c) a noun phrase with a descriptive modifier.

In brief, such lexical or logico-linguistic categories as *paraphrase*, *simultaneity*, and *delineation* characterize contrasting lexical sentences that encode in a variety of grammatical structures of which we have indicated: (a) certain sequences of sentences which expound given paragraph level tagmemes; (b) certain nuclear sentence structures; (c) certain sequences of *Base* and *Margin* within a given sentence type; (d) sequences of a *Base* within one sentence and a *Time Margin* within the following sentence; (e) certain phrase structures. The variety of encoding is such that a consistent view of grammar and lexicon may be obtained only by insisting on a relative autonomy of the two. It is equally certain, however, that an adequate view of language must conflate not only grammatical and lexical structures but phonological structures as well.

1 Nucleus and Periphery

The division into periphery versus nucleus enables us to describe the former once and for all before beginning the description of any particular sentence type with its unique nucleus. The periphery is then assumed to occur with any sentence type subject only to general and stateable constraints.

Thus, such 'outer' peripheral tagmemes as *Exclamation* and *Vocative* may occur with any sentence type in English.[1]

Phooey, Mary, I'm going. (Simple)
Phooey, Mary, I'm going downtown and Jim can cook his own supper. (Coordinate)
Phooey, Mary, he deserved better treatment, but that's how he fared. (Antithetical)
Phooey, Mary, if he comes, then count me out. (Conditional)

Likewise, tagmemes of the 'inner' periphery may also occur indifferently in any sentence type. In the following English examples a *Purpose Margin* tagmeme occurs in four contrasting sentence types:[2]

(1) In order to save water he would have gone without bathing entirely if she had been content with a sponge bath. (Contrary-to-Fact Condition)
(2) In order to save water we'll either have to take sponge baths or stop bathing entirely. (Alternation)
(3) In order to save water I told them, "Either take sponge baths or stop bathing entirely". (Direct Quotation)
(4) In order to save water you'll be willing to take sponge baths, won't you? (Echo Question)"

On the other hand, contrastive sentence margins (of the inner periphery) may occur on the same sentence nucleus:

(1) When water is scarce some take sponge baths but others stop bathing entirely. (Preposed Time Margin)
(2) In that water is scarce some take sponge baths but others have stopped bathing entirely. (Preposed Circumstantial Margin)
(3) Because water is scarce some take sponge baths but others have stopped bathing entirely. (Preposed Causal Margin)

---

[1] Cf. Longacre, "The Notion of Sentence", *Georgetown Monograph 20* (1967), p. 20.

[2] "The Notion of Sentence", p. 22.

(4) *In order to save water some take sponge baths but others have stopped bathing entirely.* (*Purpose Margin*)
(5) *Although water is now plentiful, some take sponge baths but others have stopped bathing entirely.* (*Preposed Concessive Margin*)

Inner Periphery tagmemes, except the *Sentence Topic* are characteristically expounded by strings that consist of a *Relator* morpheme or morpheme complex and an *Axis*--which is the balance of the string. The *Axis* may be structurally: (a) a single clause; (b) a clause plus elements identifiable as belonging to the sentence periphery and (c) a pattern characteristic of a sentence nucleus plus or minus elements of the sentence periphery.

Where the *Axis* has the structure indicated in (c) we have examples like the English: *I don't want to marry her because she is rich but I'm poor* where *because* subordinates not merely one clause but a whole English *Antithetical Sentence*. Again, *Although he piteously begged*, "*Don't kill me*, *please*", *they remorselessly butchered him* shows a *Direct Quotation Sentence* subordinated by means of *although*. In these examples we see that the *Cause Margin* and *Concessive Margin* are expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentences* whose *Relators* are expounded by *because* and *although* and whose *Axes* are expounded by the balance of the subordinate string. A *Relator-Axis Sentence* as such is no more of an anomaly on the sentence level than a prepositional phrase (or relator-axis phrase) is on the phrase level. The axis of a relator-axis phrase is a slot filled by other phrase types. Similarly, the *Axis* of a *Relator-Axis Sentence* is a slot filled by other sentence types.

When the *Axis* has the structure indicated in (b) above, we have examples like the following: *I don't want to marry her because although she's rich I'm poor*. Here the *Axis* is a string which consists of a clause *I'm poor* accompanied by a *Concessive Margin* expounded by *although she's rich*. We conclude, therefore, the clause *I'm poor* constitutes the nucleus of the sentence which the *Concessive Margin* depends on. The whole subordinated string *although she's rich*, *I'm poor* is therefore a subordinated sentence--in this case a *Simple Sentence*--because it is a string which contains a sentence margin tagmeme.

When the *Axis* has the structure indicated in (a) above, we have such English examples as the above battery of examples which include *When water is scarce*..., *In that water is scarce*..., *Because water is scarce*... and others. No feature in these subordinate strings compels us to consider them to be sentence structures; we can therefore, if we choose, consider them to be clause structures, specifically Relator Axis Clauses. However, since a *Simple Sentence* has but one obligatory nuclear tagmeme, the Sentence Base, and many optional peripheral tagmemes it is equally correct to refer to these subordinated strings as Relator-Axis Sentences. One advantage in calling them the latter is that we can refer uniformly to the exponents of the sentence margin tagmemes as "Relator-Axis Sentences" rather than the longer "Relator-Axis Clauses and Relator-Axis Sentences". We adopt the briefer way of speaking in this volume and refer regularly to the exponents of sentence margins as "Relator-Axis Sentences". The one exception to this is an occasional instance of exponence wherein there is a structure that clearly is on the clause level and consequently may not be considered to be a Simple Sentence. Thus, in Ilianen Manobo it is clearly necessary to distinguish certain Relator-Axis Clauses from Relator-Axis Sentences. There is a Relator-Axis Clause that is one of the exponents of Time Margin. The Relator of this Relator-Axis Clause is wey 'when' which (a) attracts the enclitic pronoun here but does not so attract the pronoun in other functions (e.g. as a coordinating conjunction on the sentence level); (b) no feature of the sentence periphery or nucleus ever occurs in the construction. Similarly, Concessive Relator-Axis Sentences in Ilianen Manobo may be distinguished from Concessive Relator-Axis Clauses in that minsan and apey 'although' as Sentence level Relators do not attract the pronoun, while as clause-level Relators they do. Furthermore, no feature of the sentence periphery or nucleus occurs in such clause-level constructions. While the criterion (a) is not applicable in all Philippine languages for distinguishing subordinate clauses from subordinate sentences, in Ilianen Manobo the conjunction of criterion (a) with (b) is sufficient to establish this distinction.

Aside, however, from such formally marked structural distinctions whether we regard such a construction as 'when John came home' as a Relator-Axis Clause or a Relator-Axis Sentence is entirely a matter of descriptive convenience. A minimal Simple Sentence is at once a clause, just as a minimal clause may in some languages consist of a single phrase or a minimal phrase of a single word. The theory of hierarchy not only tolerates such structural ambiguity but finds in it one of the fundamental ways (pormanteau exponences) in which adjoining structural levels mesh in the system of a language.

Examples of recursive embedding of sentences within sentence margins are given in all the languages. Recursion is especially frequent in margins that are sentence-final where a certain openness of structure can be accepted without impairing the intelligibility of the sentence. The following six Tausug examples illustrate embedding of sentence structures within Cause Margins (first two examples), within Conditional Margins (examples 3 and 4), within Concessive Margin (example 5), and within Time Margin (example 6).

(1) Nagtabang siya ha kabaw, (Rel:) sabab (Axis:SimS with
helped he carabao because

Cond. M) bang bukun amu' siguru mapatay na in kabaw.
if not monkey surely die already carabao.

'He helped the carabao, because if it were not for the monkey surely the carabao would have died.'

(2) Bang ha taas bud di' aku tuud makaindan magpanaw,
if at top mountain not I very recognize to-walk

(Rel:) bat (Axis:SimS with Conc. M) minsan manaw pa
because even-though walk to

bud agun na mapiul in tuhud ku.
mountain almost broken knee my

'When at the top of the mountain I could hardly recognize the way to walk, because even when walking to the mountain I almost broke my knee.'

(3) Na, (Rel:) bang (Axis:SeqS) kabakan na in yan ampa mu
now if find already that and then

hibugit in kaibanan, (Nuc) balik-balik na kita isab
you will-throw others again-again we also

maglawag.
will-look

'Now, if, we will find that already and then you will throw away others, we will just have to look again and again.'

(4) Laung sin kuting, (Rel:) "bang (Axis:CorS) awn kadungugan
said cat if there-is heard

sakayan iban makakita' tau iban manuk-manuk, (Nuc) di' kaw umusig.
canoe and able-to-see men and birds not you bark

'The cat said, "If (we) hear a canoe and see people and birds, you will not bark."'

(5) (Rel:) minsan (Axis:CorS) siya nabalu iban nasakit, (Nuc)
even-though she widow and sick

awn alta' sin bana niya kiyabin kaniya.
there-are goods of husband her left to-her

'Even though she is a widow and sick, she has goods of her husband left to her.'

(6) (Rel:) Sampay (Axis:CorS) sadja nasubul hi utu' ini iban
until just young-man Utu this and

nabudjang hi inda', (Nuc) didtu na kami ha bay sin apu'
young-lady Inda' there we at house of grandfather

namu'.
ours

'Just until Utu' was a young man and Inda' was a young lady, were we there at the house of our grandfather.'

1.1 Outer versus inner periphery

The case for division into an 'outer' and 'inner' periphery in Philippine languages is best stated by Richard Elkins for Western Bukidnon Manobo:

> "The sentence periphery is further subdivided into an outer periphery followed by an inner periphery. This distinction is based on the fact that the sentence nucleus with the inner periphery may be nested as a sentence Base within the nucleus of another sentence type. The outer periphery is never included in a nesting structure except as quoted speech in a Direct Quotation Sentence."

The outer periphery tagmemes in Western Bukidnon Manobo are Conjunction, Flow Marker (a further sort of conjunctive slot), Exclamation, Vocative, Paragraph or Discourse Topic.[3] Of these tagmemes the Vocative permutes freely to any sentence level or clause level tagmeme juncture except between a Predicate and certain immediately following elements.

Janice Walton similarly divides into an outer and inner periphery in Itneg:

> "Outer periphery and inner periphery items differ in function, internal structure, and distribution. Outer peripheral items are words which can be interjected at any point in the sentence even mid clause. Inner peripheral items are phrases, or words, or Relator-Axis Sentences which permute as units within the sentence. They permute within the bounds of certain restrictions. These inner periphery items are sometimes drawn into sentence nuclei as Base of a sentence type. Inner periphery items function as the ground in linkage within the paragraph...This outer periphery influences the sentence only by

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[3] This is a sentence-level tagmeme which encodes the topic of the paragraph or discourse.

> superimposing extraneous material onto the sentence nuclei but in no way do outer periphery items alter the structure of any sentence."[4]

Lawrence Reid is cautious but indicates the possibility of an outer-inner distinction in the peripheries of Bontoc sentences:

> "It is probable that peripheral tagmemes can be divided into inner and outer periphery, depending on restriction of occurrence on embedded structures. Thus, Sentence Introducer, and Sentence Conjunction certainly do not occur on any embedded sentence. However, at this stage of analysis insufficient is known of the restrictions inherent in other peripheral tagmemes to feel justified in setting up a distinction between inner and outer periphery."

Jannette Forster also posits a similar division in Dibabawon Manobo but terms what Elkins and Walton call the outer periphery, the 'direct address periphery'. She defines direct address:

> "Direct address comprises oral or written communication directed by the speaker or writer to a known audience with which he has some situational contact. Dialogue is the most common form of direct address, but stories related to a seen audience (or written to an imagined audience), as well as letters, and reports that are written at the request of the one receiving the report, have certain features that distinquish them as direct address."

The 'direct address periphery' includes Attention, Exclamation, Affirmation, Vocative, Reported Speech, and Question.

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[4] Outer peripheral tagmemes in Itneg are: Exclamation, Vocative, Affirmative, Hesitation (a sort of space filler), Connector, and Attention. In Janice Walton's examples there occur instances of Exclamation, Vocative and Hesitation occurring in other than the linear order (from sentence initial) just given. Presumably, Affirmation (owen 'yes') can also interlard at various points within the sentence nucleus. Exponents of Connector, (ket 'and', di kad 'and', and ngem 'but') when occurring in sentence medial probably expound Markers in the sentence types or intervene as ligature between margin and nucleus. It is doubtful, therefore, if the Connector tagmemes "can be interjected at any point within the sentence". Nevertheless, other criteria for the outer periphery seem applicable to the whole set of tagmemes, e.g. typical occurrence in a block near sentence initial (even though most of them can permute elsewhere).

It seems probable that the distinction of outer and inner periphery may be of universal relevance in Philippine languages. In fact a division very similar to this is made in all the data papers that underlie this study. All without exception posit a set of margin tagmemes all of which may be manifested by Relator-Axis Sentences and many of which are exploited in paragraph linkage. Certain of them also are absorbed into the sentence nuclei of derived sentence types. The distinction between sentence margins (as part of the overall periphery) and the other peripheral tagmemes corresponds rather closely to that between the inner and outer periphery. The main points of uncertainty are: (1) the Sentence Topic tagmeme which patterns possibly with the inner periphery in some languages but with the outer periphery in others; (2) the function of certain ligature-like tagmemes that occur within the block of sentence margin tagmemes and seem to relate the margin to the nucleus.

In the inner periphery of the Western Bukidnon Manobo sentence, Richard Elkins posits the Sentence Topic and five Margin tagmemes (Temporal, Conditional, Concessive, Purpose, and Cause). For Itneg, Janice Walton also includes in the inner periphery the Sentence Topic (which she entitles the Sentence Topic Margin) as well as the other tagmemes which are more regularly referred to as "margins": Time, Cause, Conditional, Purpose, Hortatory, and Concessive. In both these languages the group of tagmemes constituting the inner periphery are (1) clustered together preceding and following the nucleus; and (2) consist of Sentence Topic plus Margins--all of which have important functions in intra-paragraph linkage.

In most languages on which this study is based the Sentence Topic occurs in the vicinity of the margin tagmemes. Indeed, in a few cases the Sentence Topic occurs in a linear order bracketed by sentence margin tagmemes. Thus, in Bontoc, Lawrence Reid locates the Sentence Topic after Concessive and Temporal Margins but before the Circumstantial and Conditional Margins. In Botolan Sambal, Harriet Minot locates the Sentence Topic just before the sentence nucleus where it follows the Causative, Concessive, Conditional, and Temporal Margins. Similarly, in Ata Manobo the Sentence Topic precedes the Nucleus and follows a string of sentence margin tagmemes. More typically, however, the Sentence Topic occurs after a string of tagmemes such as Connector, Exclamation, and Vocative, and immediately precedes the sentence margin tagmemes. This is the situation not only in Western Bukidnon Manobo and Itneg but also in Inibaloi, Agta, Atta Negrito, Balangao, Koronadal Bilaan, Binukid, Kalagan, Kalinga, Ilianan Manobo, Mansaka, Tagabili, Aborlan Tagbanwa, and Tausug.

In a few languages, however, the *Sentence Topic* has been located in a linear position bracketed by tagmemes that are typically those found in the outer periphery. Thus, in Batak, Rosemary Rodda locates the *Sentence Topic* after *Progression* (a slot filled with the conjunction *ta* 'then'), *Attention*, and *Exclamation*, and preceding *Vocative* and *Response*. Rodda assigns all these tagmemes to "Periphery$_1$" and the sentence margins to "Periphery$_2$". For Sangir, Kenneth Maryott locates the *Sentence Topic* between the *Vocative* and a tagmeme he calls *Commiseration* (e.g. *pirua* 'poor thing' or *kasiang* 'what a pity'); all these tagmemes precede the sentence margins. Probably the most irregular linear ordering is that posited for Siocon Subanon by William Hall: *Introduction*, *Time Margin*$_1$, *Time Margin*$_2$, *Exclamation*, *Sentence Topic*, then a block of margins followed by the *Vocative*, nucleus, and four more margins. Less irregular is the order posited by Edward Ruch for Kalamian Tagbanwa, where the *Sentence Topic* follows a sentence-initial block of tagmemes (*Response*, *Orienter*, *Exclamation*, *Attention*) but is separated from the prenuclear sentence margins by *Echo Question*$_1$ (*indi* 'isn't it?'), while *Echo Question*$_2$ (*aa* 'O.K?') follows the nucleus and precedes three post-nuclear sentence margins. Here the *Echo Questions* are the intrusive elements that occur within the block which consists of *Sentence Topic* and sentence margins.

Indeed, the formal and functional distinction of the sentence margins is such that they undoubtedly constitute a special grouping--even if irregularities of linear ordering make it a bit awkward to speak of an 'outer' versus an 'inner' periphery. Furthermore, the *Sentence Topic* in many ways resembles the margin tagmemes and in most languages forms with them a continuous linear block. As will be seen below, however, the sentence margins in some languages form a self-contained system in reference to which the *Sentence Topic* is extrasystemic (although in a few languages this tagmeme patterns as a part of such a system).

1.2 The outer periphery

I have already indicated somewhat the nature of the tagmemes that constitute the outer periphery. It remains to indicate more fully their range and variety. Outer periphery tagmemes are variously labelled in the data papers that underlie this study. The variety of labelling does not necessarily reflect structural distinctions. Thus, while a general conjunction tagmeme may be variously labelled (*Sentence*) *Conjunction*, (*Sentence*) *Introducer*, or *Orientation*, nevertheless its function is to bind the sentence into the flow of the paragraph and discourse. In some of the analyses, however, several contrasting *Conjunction* tagmemes with specialized functions are posited; here distinct labelling is structurally significant.

1.2.1 Initial *Conjunction* tagmemes

Especially frequent is a division into two *Conjunction* tagmemes. Thus, in Western Bukidnon Manobo, *Conjunction* is distinguished from *Flow-Marker*. The former is expounded by *ne* 'general conjunction'; *asal* and *iyan*, both meaning 'but'; *su* 'because'; and *umba* 'therefore'. The function of this tagmeme is "to loosely tie a sentence to the previous sentence or paragraph." The *Flow-Marker* tagmeme is expounded by fossilized clauses or clause fragments, i.e., *hengkey re is* 'so then' or 'so then what' (in *NARRATIVE DISCOURSE*); *ikezuwa zin daan*, 'secondly' (in *EXPLANATORY* or *HORTATORY DISCOURSE*); and *iyan is* 'proposal' (most frequently in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS). The *Flow-Marker* tagmeme ties a sentence more specifically into its context than does the *Conjunction* tagmeme.

For Agta, Roy Mayfield distinguishes a sentence-initial *Introducer* from *Sequence*. The former is expounded only by *a*[5] and the latter only by *sangaw* 'then'. The functional contrast between these two Agta tagmemes seems not dissimilar from that just described for Western Bukidnon Manobo.

Gordon Svelmoe posits for Mansaka two sentence-initial tagmemes: *Orientation* and *Intensifier*. The former is a general *Conjunction* tagmeme with exponents meaning such things as 'link', 'then', 'that-is-why', 'however', and 'for example'. The latter is filled by particle complexes that mean such things as 'even so' and 'sure enough'.

Stewart Hussey for Aborlan Tagbanwa posits initial *Conjunction* and *Implication* tagmemes with the latter expounded by elements meaning 'surely', 'perhaps', and 'surprisingly'.

Edward Ruch posits for Kalamian Tagbanwa initial *Resumption* and *Sentence Orienter* tagmemes. The former is highly specific in function: "The *Resumption* tagmeme is expounded by *taa* and indicates the resumption of the speaker's thought following a pause." It appears to me on inspection of Ruch's data that *taa* does not necessarily follow a pause but may simply redirect attention back to something already mentioned earlier. *Sentence Orienter* tagmeme is expounded by six items all meaning roughly 'then' (five are phonologically related: *simanyan*, *timanyan*, *sinumanyan*, *tinumanyan*, *numanyan*) and the Spanish loan *dispuis* 'besides', 'what's more'. Here, as elsewhere, Ruch is sensitive to paragraph-level distribution of these elements. Thus, in exemplifying the function of these two tagmemes he gives portions of Kalamian Tagbanwa paragraphs to substantiate his statement that *dispuis* functions "as a link between STEPS in a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH" "between TEXT and EXPO...or between RESULT and REASON in an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH." It seems to me to be probable that the other particles meaning 'then' (which expound *Sentence Orienter*) introduce successive BUILD-UP tagmemes in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS (Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 1.1.1). Ruch also posits a further PROGRESSION tagmeme (expounded by *dayun* and *dirisyu*; both also meaning 'then') which appears from the examples to be a ligature (see below) between *Time Margin* and nucleus rather than a reference to action in the preceding sentence.

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[5] Mayfield also includes exclamations as exponents of this same tagmeme--even though exclamations, unlike *a* 'and' cannot co-occur with exponents of *Sequence*. (cf 1.2.2).

In some languages more than two *Conjunction* tagmemes are posited. For Binukid (Manobo), Ursula Post posits *Interjection* (like Ruch's *Resumption* tagmeme), *Connector*, *Progression*, *Conjunctive*, and *Result* (with *Exclamation* intervening before the latter). *Interjection* is expounded by *a* and "indicates resumption of the thread of discourse". The *Connector* is expounded by *ba* 'but' and *daw* 'and' which "link the sentence to the preceding sentence or paragraph". The *Progression* tagmeme, expounded by *aman*(*ta*), *bul-ug*(*ta*) and *dayun*(*ha*), (all meaning 'then') "indicates a progression of activity from that of the previous sentence or paragraph". The *Conjunctive* tagmeme is really a hesitation form and a sentence-internal ligature that is not relevant here. After the intervening *Exclamation* tagmeme may occur *Result* expounded by *dì pa*(*sa*/*su*/*hu*) 'so', 'and so'. Post states that "a sentence with a *Result* tagmeme is an exponent of the TERMINUS tagmeme of a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH". I would surmise that her *Progression* tagmeme occurs on sentences that expound successive BUILD-UP tagmemes in the same paragraph type.

There is also a variety of sentence-initial conjunctive elements in Ilianen Manobo, Several of these were described in Vol. I, Part II, Sec. 1.9.3.

1.2.2 *Exclamation* and *Attention* tagmemes

Another sort of outer peripheral tagmeme that is found in all the languages is the *Exclamation* tagmeme. Only in one language, Agta, is such a tagmeme not posited and even here Roy Mayfield's data paper clearly indicates that such a tagmeme could be posited. Thus, while an *Introducer* tagmeme is set up some exponents of which are exclamatory, Mayfield explicitly tells us that such exclamatory exponents of *Introducer* cannot co-occur with the *Sequence* ('then') tagmeme. It seems probable, therefore, that the *Introducer* tagmeme can be split into *Introducer* and *Exclamation* tagmemes.

Exclamation typically occurs near the beginning of the sentence with possible permutations to other positions. In some languages (Aborlan Tagbanwa, Inibaloi, Atta Negrito, Botolan Sambal, Itneg, Tagabili, Tausug, Sangir) it is posited as the first element of the sentence. In most, it apparently is preceded by other items such as one or more conjunctive slots. In Siocon Subanon, William Hall gives it a pre-nuclear position following two *Time Margin* tagmemes and preceding the *Sentence Topic*. In Balangao, Joanne Shetler allocates both *Exclamation* and *Vocative* (the latter also is customarily pre-nuclear but permutes freely to other positions in most languages) to a sentence-final position--where they are still outer in respect to the margin tagmemes.

In several languages an *Attention* tagmeme is posited as well as *Exclamation*. Thus in Batak, Rosemary Rodda sets up *Attention* expounded by *uy* 'hey'. She remarks that this particle is used to attract attention and is "often used to avoid the use of a proper name". *Exclamation* tagmeme is expounded by such particles as *ayka*, *abubu*, *ayaw*, *aykape'*, and *aha*--all roughly translated 'Oh!' Two further elements are listed: *iay* 'truly' and *Mangaluk* (the name of a spirit used as an exclamation). The *Attention* tagmeme is given a position preceding *Exclamation* in Batak.

Attention tagmeme, as posited in Kalamian Tagbanwa by Edward Ruch, also precedes the *Exclamation*. *Attention* is expounded by *uay*, *egay*, *ua*, all meaning 'look at this' and *eey* and *heey* both of which mean 'hey'. The complex *belek eey* "is used to draw attention to a foregoing statement...which is socially unacceptable." Ruch presents 12 exponents of *Exclamation* tagmeme with indication that others remain to be catalogued. The twelve exponents so far catalogued are carefully distinguished, defined, and illustrated. One exponent *ay* 'strong emotion' obligatorily permutes to sentence-final. The other exponents remain as posited in their relative order from sentence initial.

Because Ruch's treatment of *Exclamation* is exemplary I quote here his presentation of four exponents of this tagmeme.

> (a) "*Tag* approximates the English 'Come on, out with it' or 'See, I told you so'."
>
> "Examples:

1.

Tag,	*bakes*,	*ianing*	*mu*	*ra*.
exclamation	monkey	say	you	now

'Come on, monkey, say it.'

2\.

Tag,	*telengan*	*mu*	*yang*	*kaluku*	*ni*	*bukaya*.
exclamation	look-at	you		foolishness	of	crocodile

'See, I told you so, look at the foolishness of Crocodile.'

(b) "*Ala* could be glossed as 'Get a move on!' or 'Go ahead, do it'. It often occurs with *sigi* following, which generally means the same as *ala*, but is more urgent."

"Examples:

1\.

Maning	*ngaw*	*tung*	*ni*	*Urning*,	"*Ala*,	*beltay*."
say	I	to		Urning	exclamation	paddle

'I said to Urning, "Come on, paddle."'

2\.

Ala *sigi*	*suntukun*	*mu*	*ra*.	*Yuuy*	*bala*.
exclamation	box	you	now	I	responsible

'Go ahead and box him. I'll be responsible.'

(c) "*Abee*, is an expression of wonderment, awe, or nostalgia."

"Examples:

1\.

Abee,	*anday*	*maita*	*mu*,	*pulus*	*teeb*.
exclamation	no	see	you	purely	ocean

'Wow, all you could see was ocean!'

2\.

Nandawal-dawal.	*Abee*,	*durug*	*lapad*	*ang*	*banwa*.
looked around	exclamation	very	wide		place

'He took a look around. Wow, it was a very spacious place.'

(d) "The stem *tapus* 'finish' may expound the *Exclamation* tagmeme, expressing hurt feelings."

"Examples:

1\.

Tapus	*nungaynang*	*timpranu*	*nagtuang*	*ngaw*	*ka*	*yang*	*lata*.
exclamation	while-ago	early	carried	I	too		can

'You don't appreciate the fact that a little while ago in the early morning, I also carried by suspension the can (of water).'

2.	*"Tapus"*	*ang*	*maganing*	*"Indi*	*matakung*
	exclamation		says	negative	know

magbeles."
reciprocate

'He says, "Oh the ungratefulness! He doesn't know how to reciprocate!"' "

Contrasting with the richness and variety of the preceding is Binukid (Manobo) where Ursula Post reports an *Exclamation* tagmeme expounded only by *es* 'oh!' and an *Attention* tagmeme expounded only by *huy* 'hey'. Again, the two tagmemes are assumed to occur in contiguous linear slots.

In Itneg, as analyzed by Janice Walton, *Exclamation* is initial in the outer periphery while *Attention* and the following *Vocative* tagmeme occur just preceding the inner periphery. While there are five exponents of *Exclamation* there are but two exponents (*oy* and *huy*, 'hey') of *Attention*.

Sangir, as analyzed by Kenneth Maryott posits both an *Exclamation* and *Commiseration* tagmeme. *Exclamation* has several exponents meaning such things as 'well (then!)', 'Oh', and 'Wow'. It includes *e* 'hey' as exponent of *Exclamation* rather than of a separate *Attention* tagmeme. *Exclamation* is initial in the sentence, while *Commiseration* immediately precedes the sentence margins. *Commiseration* has two exponents, *pirua* 'poor thing!' and *kasiang* 'what a pity!'

1.2.3 *Response* and *Affirmation* tagmemes

Response or *Affirmation* tagmeme is posited in a number of languages. In Batak, Rosemary Rodda posits a *Response* tagmeme with two variants. The <*itin*> variant is affirmative and includes such items as *itin* 'of course', *ee* 'yes', *pwidi* 'right' (Spanish loan *puede*) and *ay unuy* 'very well'. The <*awatay*> variant is negative and includes such exponents as *awatay* 'of course (not)', *adi* 'no' and *igta* 'I'm not'. For Sangir, Kenneth Maryott reports a *Response* tagmeme with a positive variant, a negative variant and an item meaning 'Thank you'. Two of the elements function much like functional morphemes that form *Echo Questions*. Positive exponents are: *ore* 'yes', *ia* 'yes' (honorific), *ho* 'o.k.', *kahéngang* 'true', *kai* 'it is so?' and *kawe* 'isn't it so?' Negative exponents are: *tala* 'no' and *baline* 'not so'. Similarly, in Tausug there are, according to Seymour and Lois Ashley, two positive and two negative exponents of *Response*: *huun* 'yes', *makajari* 'it can be', *di* 'no', and *bukun* 'not'.

Affirmation tagmemes express only a positive response; in languages where such a tagmeme is found, a negative response is presumably expressed somewhere on a lower level (clause, or phrase). In Binukid (Manobo) (Ursula Post) this tagmeme is expounded only by the particle *hee* 'yes', in Ilianen Manobo (Jean Shand) by two particles, *wey* 'hesitant yes' and *uya* 'yes' (which may also occur in sequence); in Kalagan (Donald Murray by three particles, *ee/e*, *a-a*, and *uhuh*, all of which mean 'yes'; in Itneg (Janice Walton) by one particle, *owen* 'yes' and in Dibabawon Manobo (Jannette Forster) "by *o-o*/*ho-o* 'yes' with optional intensifying particles, ± *man*/*kay* ± *iyan*". In most cases (excepting Kalagan) the *Affirmation* tagmeme is contiguous to the *Vocative*.

1.2.4 The *Vocative* tagmeme

While the linear position of the *Vocative* has been described above, nothing has been said as to its exponents.

In the various languages the exponents of *Vocative* that are frequently mentioned are (a) proper names, (b) kinship terms used in direct address; (c) mutual relation terms like 'friend', 'companion'; (d) classificatory terms such as 'child', 'young man'; (e) second person pronouns (usually of the "emphatic" set). A few special exponents and restrictions are mentioned in the following paragraphs.

Lee Ballard believes that in Inibaoi "True *Vocatives* are not common; only three occur in the material". This scarcity of *Vocative* tagmemes in Inibaloi is partly due to the fact that many apparent examples of *Vocative* are analyzed as *Sentence Topic*. Ballard has given special care and attention to the analysis of the latter tagmeme and in the light of this analysis feels that such a string as *si-kamu* *manong* *alejo* 'you, brother Alejo' is to be regarded as *Sentence Topic* not as a *Vocative*. His three examples of *Vocative* do not include a proper name used in direct address. In the description of two other languages as well, viz. Sangir and Aborlan Tagbanwa, no mention is made of proper names as exponents of *Vocative* while for Kalagan, Don Murray comments that the use of a name in the *Vocative* is "uncommon".

For Ilianen Manobo, Jean Shand distinguishes "dialogue" from "calling style". In the latter, as well as in direct address between husband and wife, there is an unusual use of third person pronouns:

> "In calling style the *Vocative* tagmeme is expounded by a third person relator-axis phrase which even though it is third person is actually a form of direct address.

> The *Vocative* tagmeme in direct address between husband and wife is expounded by a third person noun phrase, i.e. *iney rin* 'his/her mother' [meaning 'wife'] is the direct address of a husband to his wife. Similarly, *amey rin* 'his/her father' [meaning 'husband'] is used by a wife to her husband."

For Western Bukidnon Manobo, Richard Elkins posits a vocative phrase as exponent of *Vocative* tagmeme. This phrase "consists of an optional attention tagmeme plus a head tagmeme". "The attention tagmeme", Elkins continues, "is expounded by the particle *he* or an emphatic case second person pronoun. The head tagmeme is expounded by a proper name or a kinship term used in direct address". As we have previously observed, the sentence-level *Attention* tagmeme posited in several languages typically precedes or follows *Vocative*. If this is regularly the case, then there is no good reason why the two tagmemes should not be collapsed into one on the sentence level and the distinction made on the phrase level--precisely as Elkins has done for Manobo.[6]

In Mansaka and Kalagan a particle *kay* is used to introduce exponents of *Vocative*. In Mansaka (Gordon Svelmoe) this untranslatable particle is optional before a proper or common noun in direct address, as in *lagi* or *kay lagi* 'friend'. In Kalagan (Donald Murray) the particle is apparently obligatory. In that proper names are uncommon in direct address the morpheme *kay* finds most frequent use in special address forms here listed in tabular form:

Addressee Speaker	Man	Woman
Man	*kaylau* *kayto'* (informal; to man or boy)	*kaylau* (if wife) *kaydë* (other women)
Woman	*kayto'*	*kaydë*
Any speaker to old man: *kay bakleg*		
Any speaker to old woman: *kay buyag*		

Kalagan terms of address

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[6] Even in Batak, where several tagmemes intervene between *Attention* and *Vocative* in the bidimensional array of the sentence periphery, Rodda makes a special note that "*Attention* precedes *Vocative*". *Attention* can, however, occur by itself with avoidance of a proper name.

There is of course no restriction on the number of Vocatives in a given sentence when proper names expound this tagmeme in a language. Strings of such proper names may occur as multiple actualizations of the tagmeme.

1.2.5 Ligature and Hesitation tagmemes

For some languages there is mentioned a further pre-nuclear tagmeme which fulfills one or both of the following functions: (1) ligature between certain preposed sentence margins and the nucleus; or (2) hesitation form (space-filler) that can occur at any sentence-level tagmeme juncture.

In Itneg the particle -a is more a hesitation form than a ligature. Janice Walton describes it: "Hesitation refers to a previous statement or provides a pause for change of speaker or for continuation of statement by the same speaker." By contrast, Rosemary Rodda does not include the hesitation particle in Batak in the linear lineup of tagmemes but says rather "This paper deals with well-formed sentences but there are many instances of incomplete or malformed constructions. The Hesitation tagmeme aw often marks such a construction as in:
Nagawat si kabadu kay Diun aw, Diu,...
'Kabadu said to June, (I mean) Jo...'
Magtaratarabut gwa kami it manga Murus aw ayaw
'We will chase the Moros--(I mean) we won't (chase the Moros).'"

Not too dissimilar in function may be the Binukid(Manobo) particle na described by Ursula Post as follows: "The Conjunctive tagmeme na separates distinct units of a sentence and is accompanied by a slight pause in narration." The Binukid particle na, while clearly a space-filler, doesn't seem to imply that an error has been made as does the Batak particle aw above. Note the following examples:

Na	dun	taena	ha	aldaw	na	sa	iling	kanay	na	agpamahaw	kay...
	at	that		day		the	like	us		ate-leftovers	we

'Uh, at that time, uh, those like us, uh, ate leftovers...'

Distinct from such Hesitation tagmemes (even when occurring quite regularly at certain sentence tagmeme junctures) are ligature tagmemes which systematically connect a margin to the nucleus. Thus, Joanne Shetler posits a Sentence Conjunction 2 in Balangao. This Conjunction can intervene between a Sentence Introducer (which Shetler makes part of the margin system), a Time Margin, a Circumstance Margin or a Possibility Margin and the nucleus of the sentence. That this element is no mere Hesitation form is seen also in its peculiar structure an...at with the pronoun subject of the nuclear clause bracketed by the conjunctive element.

Mag-ay	*no*	*nalpas*	*di,*	*andat*	*manobao*	*ya*	*manmunada*
should	they	finish	that	conjunction$_2$-(they)	smoke	and	chew

'Should they finish that, then they smoke and chew.'

In Batak, the ligature tagmeme (called *Link* by Rosemary Rodda) occurs following a *Conditional Margin* or *Time Margin* expounded by a *pagka-* gerundative and preceding the nucleus. While the Batak *Link* tagmeme is thus more restricted in use than the corresponding Balangao tagmeme, nevertheless, Batak *Link* expounded by *ay* is quite distinct from the *Hesitation* tagmeme expounded by *aw*.

Similarly in Agta, Roy Mayfield posits a *Conjunction* tagmeme that occurs between a *Sentence Topic* or a sentence margin tagmeme and the nucleus.

In Western Bukidnon Manobo while Richard Elkins posits an initial *Conjunction* tagmeme with various exponents, he does not set up a *Ligature* tagmeme as such in the interior of the sentence but states rather a rule "The conjunction *ne* ['and'] may optionally occur preceding and/or following ST [*Sentence Topic*] and/or preceding the sentence nucleus."

1.2.6 Emphasis tagmemes

Another type of pre-nuclear element of somewhat uncertain status is the *Emphasis* tagmeme posited for Botolan Sambal by Harriet Minot. Her discussion of this tagmeme is brief. In the examples given, *Emphasis* (expounded by *ay*) intervenes between *Concessive Margin*, *Conditional Margin*, *Temporal Margin* or *Sentence Topic* and the sentence nucleus. It appears, therefore, to be essentially a ligature tagmeme of the sort found in other languages.

Emphasis tagmeme as posited in Bontoc by Lawrence Reid is, however, a sentence-final element. It is expounded by two particles *ya* and *kayya*. In the examples given by Reid it co-occurs with a command given in the sentence *Base*: e.g. *akas na ya*. 'Come here (emph)!'

Still a third sort of element is called *Emphasis* tagmeme by Edward Ruch in Kalamian Tagbanwa. This element is pre-nuclear, but "its position varies with regard to other peripheral tagmemes. It may be preposed to a margin, a *Sentence Topic* or a *Vocative* tagmeme." Ruch probably should add..."or to the nucleus itself". The exponent *qay* of *Emphasis* tagmeme apparently emphasizes what it precedes. If it precedes the whole nucleus, it emphasizes the nucleus as in the Kalamian Tagbanwa equivalent of 'So, *qay* you'll be my child forever' and 'If you'll allow yourselves to be adjudicated by me, (*qay*) I'll be grateful to you.' It may, however, emphasize tagmemes of the periphery, as in the Kalamian Tagbanwa equivalent of the following where it emphasizes the *Reason Margin*: 'So, the man, (*qay*) on account of the fact that he really was one who was merciful to a person who experiences difficulties, he proceeded, they say, to drag the crocodile out to the water's edge.'

1.2.7 Marker of Echo Question and Disclaimer of Responsibilit

The outer periphery includes in some languages *Markers of Echo Question* and *Disclaimer of Responsibility*, both of which are typically at or near sentence final.

The *Echo* or *Tag Question* is found in many of the languages. With the sole exception of Sangir, the *Echo Question* anticipates an *Affirmative* or favorable answer.[7] It occurs either sentence-final (Tagabili, Dibabawon Manobo, Kalagan, Atta Negrito) or interlarded after any sentence-level or clause-level tagmeme, which is then the focal point of the question (Bontoc, Balangao). In Kalamian Tagbanwa, (Edward Ruch) there are two *Echo Question* tagmemes, one of which (*Echo Question 1* expounded by *indi* 'isn't it?') occurs early in the pre-nuclear linear lineup and the other of which (*Echo Question 2* expounded by *aa* 'O.K.?') occurs postposed to the nucleus. Both *indi* and *aa* occur with rising intonation; the former, which occurs early in the sentence is followed by "a slight pause". With his customary care, Ruch points out the distribution of sentences marked with *Echo Questions* in NARRATIVE and DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS. Thus, while *Echo Question 1* occurs on sentences in both NARRATIVE and DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS (chiefly in the former), *Echo Question 2* occurs exclusively on sentences in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS--and in fact in sentences which expound a SPEECH 1 (PROPOSAL). A further point of interest is that while *indi* as exponent of *Echo Question 1* does not attract the enclitic pronoun, *indi* as exponent of negative tagmeme on lower levels (phrase and clause) does attract the pronoun.

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[7] In Sangir, Kenneth Maryott sets up the *Echo Question* as a constituent tagmeme of the *Simple Sentence*. This in itself involves a problem: the sentence margin tagmemes may occur post-nuclear but presumably may not follow the *Echo Question*, which is sentence final--yet no restriction on the occurrence or permutation of margin tagmemes is mentioned in the *Simple Sentence*. It may be that the *Echo Question* should be posited as a postnuclear peripheral here as in the other languages. At any rate, it has one exponent *tala* 'isn't that so?' which anticipates a negative response. Other exponents anticipate affirmative responses or are neutral. A negative response may also be elicited by the use of an appropriate intonation contour.

A particle which tags what the speaker says as from another source and thereby removes him from bearing the responsibility for the assertion is found in almost all the languages. Usually this particle is analyzed as part of the structure of *Quotation Sentences* (2.6). In some cases, however, the use of the particle is so general, even in recounting a story, that a *Disclaimer of Responsibility* tagmeme is posited in the outer (postposed) periphery of the sentence. Such a tagmeme has been posited only in Tagabili, Kalagan, and Dibabawon Manobo. In the latter (from Jannette Forster), it is expounded by *kun* 'it is said', embeds in specified places in the interior of the sentence, and "does not regularly occur in the same sentence with a quotation formula". In Tagabili (Nancy Howison) *Disclaimer of Responsibility* is also expounded by *kun* and occurs prefinal in the sentence where it is followed only by *Echo Question* expounded by *kóó* 'isn't it?'; *Tey metlasik kun* 'It is very fast, it-is-said.' This tagmeme may, however, permute to within the nucleus: *Dyen kun funen* 'John, it is said, is the owner.' The Kalagan (Donald Murray) *Reported Speech* tagmeme expounded by *kunu* is apparently identical in function and distribution with the Tagabili tagmeme just described.

1.3 The inner periphery

In all the languages sentence margin tagmemes, expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentence* are posited as a special grouping of tagmemes within the sentence periphery. In a few languages other elements than those usually called "margins" are included in this grouping. Thus, Richard Elkins groups the *Sentence Topic* along with the margin tagmemes in an inner periphery. Janice Walton likewise groups the *Sentence Topic* with the margins and in fact labels the former *Sentence Topic Margin*. Joanne Shetler includes in the system of margins which she posits not only the *Sentence Topic* but also the *Sentence Introducer*--on the grounds that the latter (a conjunction expounded by two elements meaning 'that (and)' and 'and then') is not dissimilar in function to the *Time Margin* in linking sentences together within the paragraph.

The *Relator-Axis Sentences* that expound sentence margin tagmemes, like embedded sentences in general (except for those that expound *Quotation* tagmemes of *Direct Quotation Sentences*) do not contain tagmemes of the outer periphery. In Western Bukidnon Manobo, Elkins posits a further restriction, viz. any margins that occur within a sentence which expounds *Axis* must be postposed margins. As is evident in the Tausug examples given at the end of 1.0 this restriction does not hold for Tausug. Precisely which languages share this restriction with Western Bukidnon Manobo has not been investigated.

1.3.1 The *Sentence Topic*

In published analyses of Philippine languages[8] what is here described as the *Sentence Topic* is handled as a clause-level feature, either as an Emphasis tagmeme within the clause (by permutation of some tagmeme to the fore of the Predicate) or as an emphasis transformation of the clause. We handle this feature here as properly belonging to the sentence-level in that (a) it groups with elements of the sentence periphery rather than of the sentence nucleus (where it could more easily be considered to be part of a component clause within the nucleus); (b) it has in most languages a non-final terminal juncture which sets it off phonologically from the rest of the sentence; and (c) the clause, which usually has a cross-reference pro-word referring to the *Sentence Topic*, is a complete unit without it.

Detailed presentations of the *Sentence Topic* tagmeme are available for Western Bukidnon Manobo (Richard Elkins), Bontoc (Lawrence Reid), Inibaloi (Lee Ballard), Kalinga (Richard Gieser), and Kalamian Tagbanwa (Edward Ruch).

Elkins distinguishes the *Paragraph* (or *Discourse*) *Topic* tagmeme from the *Sentence Topic* tagmeme. The former is the last linear tagmeme of the outer periphery of the sentence, the latter is the first tagmeme of the inner periphery. Furthermore, the *Paragraph Topic* is expounded by an emphatic case noun phrase, while the *Sentence Topic* is expounded by a topic case or emphatic case noun phrase (with some formal overlap between the two). Finally, "The *Paragraph Topic* is not reiterated or referred to in the sentence where it occurs but, rather later in the paragraph or discourse in which it occurs", while the *Sentence Topic* "is reiterated in the nucleus of the sentence by a pronoun which must agree with the *Sentence Topic* as to person and number, or by a verb if the *Sentence Topic* represents a process." Both tagmemes are illustrated in the following sentence:

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[8] Cf. e.g. Pike, 'A Syntax Paradigm', *Language* 39. 216-230, (1963) (emphasis in Bilaan); and Jannette Forster, 'Dual Structure of Dibabawon Verbal Clauses' *Oceanic Linguistics* 3.1 26-47 (1964). Note also Ernesto Constantino, 'The Sentence Patterns of Twenty-Six Philippine Languages', *Lingua* 15, 71-124, pp. 101 where he discusses "Sentence Inversion".

PT ST
(Heini is nekagi he inumen) (minsan hentei wey hengkey he
this called drink even who and what

ST reiterated
kelasi te menge etew), (pudu) ed-inum. Kes etew wey minsan
kind the plural person all drink person and even

langgam, asal egegehinawa, kinehanglan he ed-inum te
animal as-long-as breathes must drink the

PT reiterated
wahig. Asal (heini is egkegiyen kayi he inumen), kenè wahig
water however this called here drink not water

kekenè inumen he vaal te etew.
but-rather drink work the person

PT ST
'(This thing called drink), (everyone and every kind of person),
ST reiterated
(all) drink. Man and even beasts, everything that breathes, have
PT reiterated
to drink water. (However this which is called drink here) is not
water but rather it is a drink which people make.'

For Bontoc, Lawrence Reid posits two varieties of Sentence Topic both of which may occur in the same sentence: (a) Sentence Topic which correlates with the situational role of Time or Site; and (b) Sentence Topic which correlates with other situational roles such as "Actor, Goal, Instrument, Beneficiary, and Possessor." Both varieties ot Sentence Topic are expounded by noun phrases preceded by case-marking particles. The case-marking particle is of the <as> class when the first variety occurs, and of the <nan> class when the second variety occurs. While some homophones occur in the two sets of case-markers they are quite distinct as sets:
<as> set:
as 'future time, class 1 site.'
ad 'past time, class 2 site.'
(as) nan 'non-specific time or site.'
(as) san 'known time or site.'
<nan> set:
nan 'common noun.'
san 'known common noun.'
si 'singular proper noun.'
da 'plural proper noun.'

Reid further states that the two varieties of Sentence Topic may occur in sequence in the same sentence, as in the following example (where the pronoun datako which partially expounds the second ST is presumably of a pronoun series which is equivalent to a case-marking particle of the <*nan*> set plus a fused pronoun stem):

As wakas datako ay omaatol wasdin mangidakal si patangna...
'Tomorrow, we the men's group, each of us will take out his carrying bar...'

The formal difference in exponence of these two varieties of *Sentence Topic*, along with the difference in situational roles to which they refer, along with the distinct linear slots into which they fall when both co-occur, might well suggest here two *Sentence Topic* tagmemes rather than one with two subvarieties. When there is cross-reference to a clause-level or phrase-level tagmeme (in the sentence-nucleus) which correlates with the situation roles of *Actor* or *Possessor* a cross-reference pronoun is required in the nucleus; otherwise such cross-reference is optional. This means of course, that cross-reference is optional in the case of the first *Sentence Topic* tagmeme and obligatory or optional in the case of the second.

Ballard posits two *Sentence Topic* tagmemes in Inibaloi but on a different basis than that just suggested for Bontoc. His *Sentence Topic 2* does not have a cross-referent pronoun following it in the sentence and, although expounded by phrases similar to those that expound *Sentence Topic 1* it is also expounded by certain formulaic phrases like '(it is) my wish', and '(by) his grace'. *Sentence Topic 1* is much more involved in that there is cross-reference between it and some pronoun or pro-word in the nucleus. Ballard gives the following paradigm to indicate how any one of several noun phrases (Subject, Object, Time, Location) in the clause can become *Sentence Topic 1*. In this paradigm, note the cross-reference particles in the sentence nucleus: *sha* 'they' in the first example; *sotan* 'those' in the second; *nodtan* 'there' in the third; and *nontan* 'then' in the fourth.

> "Thus in the verbal clause that follows there are four noun phrases that may become ST 1: *nonta bosol* 'the headhunters', *i kait sha* 'their companions', *shi Abatan* 'at Abatan' and *no bayag* 'long ago':
>
> *Inaspol nonta bosol i kait sha shi Abatan*
> met the headhunters companion their at Abatan
>
> *no bayag*.
> long ago
>
> 'The headhunters met their companions at Abatan long ago.'

"The following paradigm illustrates these noun phrases as ST 1:

Sota	bosol	inaspol	sha	i kait	sha	shi	Abatan	no	bayag.
the	headhunters	met	they	companions	theirs	at	Abatan	long	ago

'The headhunters, they met their companions at Abatan long ago.'

Sota	kait	sha,	inaspol	nonta	bosol	sotan	shi	Abatan	no	bayag.
the	companions	their	met	the	headhunters	those	at	Abatan	long	ago

'Their companions, the headhunters met them at Abatan long ago.'

Shi	Abatan,	inaspol	nonta	bosol	i kait	sha	nodtan	no	bayag.
at	Abatan	met	the	headhunters	companions	their	there	long	ago

'At Abatan, the headhunters met their companions there long ago.'

No	bayag,	inaspol	nonta	bosol	i kait	sha	shi	Abatan	nontan.
long	ago	met	the	headhunters	companions	their	at	Abatan	then

'Long ago, the headhunters met their companions at Abatan then.'

Ballard proceeds to give further examples of *Sentence Topic* in non-verbal clauses. Here the presence or absence of a cross-referent pronoun in the sentence nucleus depends on whether the Topic or Predicate of the clause becomes *Sentence Topic*.

For Kalinga, Richard Gieser's description of *Sentence Topic* is necessarily detailed in that various sorts of case markers occur with phrases and clauses in that function while cross-reference with a pronoun is similarly varied. One function of *Sentence Topic* in Kalinga is to provide what Gieser terms a

"Recourse" peripheral: "In other words it introduces the resource to which one resorted in the face of some development." Thus, one Kalinga sentence illustrating the function of *Sentence Topic* is translated...'what Amboy the American did, he just pointed his machine gun at the Japanese and...' Another example: 'What that one did, he wrote a letter to his children and his wife to confide in them'. Apparently, there is here no cross-reference word to the same dramatis persona in the nucleus of the sentence. Another function of the *Sentence Topic*, which Gieser describes as "Sentence Theme" is not so very different. One Kalinga example is translated: 'What we do for an *qinum* [ceremony], they make a *tallagan* [structure]'. Other examples of "Sentence Theme" are less similar, however, to the "Recourse" peripheral function of *Sentence Topic*: '(As for) your house, none of your belongings were burned' and 'An emergency, when (it) happens, all the people are needed'. Here again, there is no cross-reference particle in the sentence nucleus. All these examples of *Sentence Topic* in Kalinga are similar to the *Sentence Topic 2* posited by Ballard for Inibaloi (likewise with no cross-referent pronoun in the nucleus). Other uses of *Sentence Topic* are more similar to Ballard's *Sentence Topic 1* and include: Preposed Topic (in reference to the clause in the nucleus, i.e. Topic-as-actor or Topic-as-object shifted to the fore of the verb and functioning as *Sentence Topic*; there is a cross-referent pronoun in the nucleus for *ST*=Topic-as-actor, but no cross-referent pronoun for *ST*=Topic-as-object); Preposed Non-Topic Actor with an Objective Clause (with no cross-reference pronoun in the clause within the sentence nucleus); Preposed possessor of substantive, e.g. 'The people, before, their lives were difficult' (here again there is a cross-reference pronoun); and preposed Referent of clause (with cross-reference pronoun). Possible instances of preposed Location and Time as *Sentence Topic* are also presented and discussed.

Of further interest regarding the *Sentence Topic* is the possible occurrence of certain particles (other than case markers) in the phrases serving as exponents. Thus for Koronadal Bilaan, Norman Abrams reports preposed *nè*/*balù* 'as for...' The latter particle *balù* also occurs as a *Relator* 'although' in *Relator-Axis Sentences* that expound *Concessive Margin*. Similarly, in Balangao (Joanne Shetler) *ulay*, or *taén* (although employed as *Relators* in *Concessive Margins*) occur meaning 'even', as in 'Even John, he came...' In Ata Manobo (Patricia Hartung), when the *Sentence Topic* refers to a person, it may be a phrase including *agad* 'also' or *atag* 'on the other hand' 'John also, he came...' or 'John on the other hand, he came...' In Ilianen Manobo (Jean Shand), the phrase expounding *Sentence Topic* may include: *misa* 'even', *embiya* 'if', and *mekeatag te* 'relative to'.

The Sentence Topic is characteristically pre-nuclear. This linear slot, preceding the Predicate of the main clause in sentence Base has long been recognized as the characteristic position in which elements may be put for emphasis. Nevertheless, Janice Walton, posits that for Itneg the Sentence Topic may occur post-nuclear: "...in text it [the Sentence Topic] has occurred in post sentence nucleus and informant reaction does not seem to consider this an 'after thought' on the part of the speaker nor ungrammatical". She gives an example: napan da manganop, da Soto kan ni Pedro, 'went they to hunt, they Soto and Pedro.'

1.3.2 Time Margins

The importance of Time Margin tagmemes in linkage of sentence to sentence and paragraph to paragraph has been described in Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 1.1--with description in 1.1.1 of the grammatical form of the Time Margins. I here note instances in which more than one Time Margin tagmeme is posited in a given language--or in which systemic variants of one such tagmeme suggest that more than one might well be presented.

1.3.2.1 With three Time Margins

Rosemary Rodda posits three Time Margins in Batak. Time Margin 1 is expounded by gerundatives and time phrases. Gerundatives are clauses whose predicate is prefixed with pag-or pagka- (with the latter more frequent in PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE; see Vol. I, Part 2, 2.1). Such gerundatives mean such things as 'when he cast in (pag-) the line', 'After you have eaten (pagka-) there at the table.' Time phrases are expressions such as 'last night' or 'tomorrow morning'. The functional load of Time Margin 1 is heavy in relation to paragraph and discourse structure. Time Margin 2 is specifically concurrent and is expounded by Relator-Axis Sentences whose Relator is desang 'at the time when'. Time Margin 3 is subsequent and is expounded by Relator-Axis Sentences whose Relator is ba'gu 'before', e.g. 'you put the rattan over the branch before/then (ba'gu) you climb up'. Time Margins 2 and 3 probably are little used in paragraph and discourse linkage. Thus, while Time Margin 1, which figures prominently in such linkage, invariably precedes the nucleus, Time Margin 2 may permute to post-nuclear, while Time Margin 3 occurs only post-nuclear. Since post-nuclear margins do not regularly figure in linkage within NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE, the linear ordering of the three Time Margins is a reflex of their function on higher levels.

Similarly, three Time Margins (called Temporal Margins) are posited by Gordon Svelmoe in Mansaka. Time Margin 1 has two sorts of exponents: (1) Relator-Axis Sentences with such Relators as dungan 'since, from a prior time', kaba 'while', kada 'each time', sasangan 'while', sokod 'as soon as', and durug 'during'; (2) Active clauses without any preposed Relator (such as are found in *Relator-Axis Sentences*)--and often with the auxiliary verb 'continue', e.g., 'thus (while) he continued walking around...' In Svelmoe's examples, the former sort of exponents sometimes permute to sentence final; the latter possibly do not so permute. Furthermore, the latter look more like the usual sort of narrative link found in paragraph structures while the former do not.[9] Both *Time Margin 2* and *Time Margin 3* are expounded by: (a) Gerundative Clauses with Predicates marked with *pag-*/*pagka-* (called by Svelmoe "non-topic dependent clauses"); and (2) "Independent Stative Clauses with Predicate in actualized mode <*yama-*> prefixes." Svelmoe adds "The second exponent may be transformed to the first..." Although both *Time Margins* have the same grammatical structures as exponents these differ in that *Time Margin 2* has clauses whose Predicates may be built on any verb stem while *Time Margin 3* has clauses whose Predicates are built on a restricted class of temporal verb stems such as *allow* 'to dawn', *ambong* 'to become afternoon', and *gabi* 'to grow dark'. Furthermore, "exponents of *TM 2* pick up an antecedent action of a previous sentence and repeat it as *Ground* of the action of the following sentences; while exponents of *TM 3* mark consecutive time horizons within a narrative."

It is clear, therefore, that *Time Margins 2* and *3* differ in respect to lexical constituency (verb stems) and paragraph-level function--although their exponents are identical as grammatical structures. The relation of *Time Margin 1* to *Time Margin 2* is less clear. Possibly the second exponent of *Time Margin 1* (the Active Clause) should be considered to expound *Time Margin 2*--since this sort of exponent seems clearly to function in narrative linkage while the other sort of exponent does not clearly have this function. It is also significant that *Time Margins 2* and *3* do not permute to post-nuclear while at least the first sort of exponent of *Time Margin 1* (the *Relator-Axis Sentence*) does so permute. If it should prove that the second sort of exponent of *Time Margin 1* does not permute, it might better be considered to expound *Time Margin 2*.

In Sangir, Kenneth Maryott likewise posits three *Time Margins* which he labels "prior", "concurrent", and "subsequent". All are expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentences* with contrasting sets of conjunctions. *Time Margin 2* (concurrent) may also be expounded by a phrase such as 'on Friday'. Maryott does not describe the function of these in narrative linkage, but presumably the *Time Margin 3* has no such function.

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[9] See, nevertheless, Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 1.1.1 where there is a puzzling Mansaka example of a postposed *Relator-Axis Sentence* with *durug* apparently serving as narrative link.

1.3.2.2 With (apparently) one or two *Time Margins*

William Hall distinguishes two *Time Margin* tagmemes in Siocon Subanon: *Time Margin 1* which is "expounded by a time phrase or a time clause which indicates consecutive time horizons", and *Time Margin 2* which is expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentences* and "indicates narrative linkage between the sentences of a paragraph". The former is expounded by phrases that mean such things as 'then', and 'after that' (compare conjunction slots in outer periphery) and by Time Clauses which mean such things as 'became day', i.e. 'the next day'. Hall's examples of *Time Margin 2* also include instances of verbs prefixed with *pag-*/*pak-* and translated 'having done so-and-so'. This is evidently the Gerundative or non-topic construction described in other languages. *Time Margin 2* may occur twice in the same sentence: "Two *R-AS 1* [*Relator-Axis Sentence 1* expounds *Time Margin 2*] may occur juxtaposed provided that the first one is *R-AS 1* with *Relator sintak* 'while' and the second one is *R-AS 1* with *Relator sakalì* 'when', *gaman kobon* 'when', *moka* 'when', etc." It seems probable that we have here two *Time Margins*--one concurrent and the other prior--as in the following example: *Sintak non mokpikilpikil*, *sakalì dow mikotingag*, *og gobi* 'While he was thinking, when he looked up, it was night.' If so, then there are three *Time Margins* in Siocon Subanon: *Time Margin 1* (consecutive time horizons), *Time Margin 2* (concurrent), and *Time Margin 3* (prior). It is interesting that while Batak, Mansaka, Sangir, and (probably) Siocon Subanon all have three *Time Margin* tagmemes, no two languages distinguish the three tagmemes from each other in quite the same way. Nevertheless, the varying functions and functional loads of the three *Time Margins* in respect to paragraph and discourse structure are presumably relevant to the distinguishing of the three tagmemes in all four languages.

It seems probable to me that in other languages where but one *Time Margin* is posited more careful study might well lead to the positing of two or three such margins. The diversity of exponents of such single *Time Margins*, the diversity of function on the paragraph and discourse level (nul function; marking of consecutive time horizons; linkage in *NARRATIVE* and *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE*), and the possible occurrence of more than one such element in the same sentence--along with a preference in linear ordering of exponents--make it probable that more than one tagmeme is involved. Thus Lawrence Reid writes regarding Bontoc, "*Temporal Margin* is the most complex of all peripheral tagmemes, because of the large number of possible structures which can expound it, and because of its role in paragraph and discourse linkage...A sequence of two *Temporal Margins* frequently occurs in sentences, but at the present stage of analysis it is uncertain whether such a sequence is a sequence of two distinct *TM*'s or a repetition of the same tagmeme. The latter analysis has been tentatively chosen."

1.3.2.3 Less typical *Time Margins*

Actually, some of the analyses underlying this report posit in addition to *Time Margins* one or more further tagmemes of distinct label but which are also temporal in import. Thus, in Kalagan, Donald Murray posits not only a *Time Margin* which immediately precedes the nucleus and is expounded by clauses whose verbs are prefixed with *pag-*, but also a more removed pre-nuclear *Incident Margin* (*Relator-Axis Sentences* whose *Relators* mean 'when'); and a post-nuclear Simultaneous Margin whose *Relators* mean 'while'). In spite, therefore, of divergent labelling Murray posits three distinct *Time Margins* in Kalagan.

In Tausug, Seymour and Lois Ashley posit two tagmemes that are in the "chronological" column in the system of Tausug sentence margins: *Time Margin* and *Limit Margin*. The latter is expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentence*, whose *Relator* is *sampay* 'until'. Both tagmemes are characteristically pre-nuclear.

Rosemary Rodda posits for Batak not only the three *Time Margin* tagmemes described above but also an *Extent Margin* tagmeme which is not dissimilar to the Tausug *Limit Margin* just mentioned--except that the Batak *Relator* is the Spanish loan word *asta* 'until'. The *Extent Margin* often occurs several times in the same sentence and is characteristically sentence-final but may permute to pre-nuclear. The three *Time Margins* already described for Batak occur in a continuous pre-nuclear block but *Time Margin 2* and *Time Margin 3* may permute to post-nuclear. While the *Extent Margin* deals with temporal relations as surely as do the *Time Margins*, Rodda (with some reason) allocates it to a different place in the system of sentence margins which she posits.

Stewart Hussey in Aborlan Tagbanwa posits not only a *Time Margin* but a *Sequence Margin*. While the former has various exponents including clauses with verbs prefixed with *pag*(*ka*)-, the latter is expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentences* whose *Relators* are *yabasay* 'when' and *ubus* 'finished'. Adjacent sentences or adjacent *Bases* within a sentence often consist of such a *Sequence Margin* plus sentence nucleus, with repetition of the same *Relator* in both sentences or *Bases*. Thus: *yabasay lumampud*, *patay*; *yabasay lumampud*, *patay*. 'As soon as (one) climbs down, (he) is killed; as soon as (one) climbs down, he is killed.' And: *ubus makalutù*, *lumutù*; *ubus makalutù*, *lumutù* 'After she finishes cooking, she cooks (some more); after she finishes cooking, she cooks (some more).'[10] This further sort of *Time Margin 2*

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[10] Note how repetitive devices of this sort become specialized sentence pattern in the Tausug *Repetitive Sentence*, e.g. *ubus sumawa*, *ubus di'*, 'Finish shine' 'Finish not (shine)', i.e. 'It alternately shines and then doesn't shine'. Other sentence patterns in Tausug repeat other such particles. (2.3.2.3).

(Sequence) is quite distinct in function from the *Time Margin 1* which bears the weight of the functional load in linkage in *NARRATIVE* and *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE*.

1.3.2.4 *Time Margin* versus *Base* of a *Sequence Sentence*

For Bontoc, Lawrence Reid gives special attention to one of the most interesting problems relating to the *Time Margin*, viz. the disambiguation of a *Sequence Sentence* (events in chronological sequence) composed of two Independent Clauses joined by a sequence conjunction 'and then' from a string consisting of a *Time Margin* expounded by Independent Clause, and with a sequence conjunction 'and then' intervening between margin and nucleus.

Reid begins with an example *Inomdanda esadat mangan*
arrived-they then-they eat,
which may be translated either as a *Sequence Sentence* 'They arrived and then they ate' or as *Time Margin* plus nucleus, 'Having arrived, then they ate'. Reid continues "These structures can be disambiguated by comparing the way the lexical sentence structure maps onto the grammatical sentence structure...A lexical sentence may be co-terminus with a grammatical sentence, or it may span the boundary between grammatical sentences." (cf. Vol I, Part 3, Sec. 2.3). Reid then proceeds to the following extended example:

Kinmaanda	*ay*	*omey*	*si*	*abongda*	*esadat*	*omadan*.
'Departed-they	link	go	to	house-their	then-they	arrive.

Inomdanda	*esadat*	*mangan*.
Arrived-they	then-they	eat.'

Here a *Sequence Sentence* 'They departed to go to their house, then they arrived' precedes the string of ambiguous structure. But there is a lexical association (repetition) between *omdan* 'arrive' and *inomdanda* 'arrived-they' which constitutes an L-sentence. Therefore, *inomdanda esadat mangan* is considered to have the structure *Time Margin* plus nucleus and is accordingly translated 'Having arrived, then they ate'.

In the same manner *Time Margin* may be disambiguated from the first member of a *Sequence Sentence* in any Philippine language where the two structures are ambiguous, i.e. where a *Time Margin* tagmeme is expounded by an Independent Clause, e.g. Balangao, Inibaloi, and most Manobo dialects.

In some Manobo dialects, however, there is a special tense form, variously called "involuntary mode", "irrealis" or "dependent tense" which optionally marks clauses in the *Time Margin*. In Binukid (Manobo) there is a contrast between *Sequence Sentence* and *Time Margin* plus nucleus as follows:

Clause 1	Clause 2	
Independent	Independent	(a)
Dependent (tense)	Independent	(b)
Independent	Dependent (tense)	(c)

Either string (a) or (b) indicates Time Margin plus sentence nucleus (and figures presumably in narrative linkage). String (c), however, is specifically a Sequence Sentence which contains in addition a link daw 'and then' which does not occur between Time Margin and nucleus.

1.3.3 Teleological Margins

1.3.3.1 Cause Margins

Of the various sorts of margins here considered, Cause and Purpose are the most common and have significance for linkage in EXPOSITORY and HORTATORY DISCOURSES.

Cause Margin most frequently is postposed to the sentence nucleus and is, in fact, usually sentence-final. When the Cause Margin embeds a long and involved construction (i.e. a Relator-Axis Sentence with an extensive sentence structure), a tentative or even final pause may precede the Cause Margin.

A Cause Margin is expounded by a Relator-Axis Sentence or a relator-axis phrase whose relator is some conjunction or conjunctive complex that means 'because'. There may be simply one Relator of the Relator-Axis (Causal) Sentence, as in Mansaka: kay 'because'; and Tagabili abay se 'because'. In Batak, a set of three Relators occurs: ay and kumu (Spanish loan como) 'because', and ian ay 'the reason being...' In Tausug there likewise occur three Relators, sabab, bat, and ampa all of which mean 'because'. The second particle, bat occurs with the meaning 'in order to' in Purpose Margins but attracts the enclitic pronoun in that function whereas it does not attract the pronoun while functioning as a Relator in Cause Margins. The third Relator ampa also occurs as a Link in Sequence Sentences, where it means 'and then' and attracts the pronoun; it does not attract the pronoun when meaning 'because'. In Sangir there is a set of five conjunctions which function as Relators in Cause Margins. All of these conjunctions vary slightly in meaning relative to each other. Thus Kenneth Maryott translates them as meaning: (1) 'because', (2) 'because, through, owing to', (3) 'because of, for the sake of', (4) 'through the fault of, as a consequence of', and (5) 'for, because'.

As indicated, *Cause Margin* may be expounded not only by an embedded sentence but by a phrase. Thus, in Botolan Sambal: 'I'm very ashamed before you because I did not reply soon'. Here the *Cause Margin* is expounded by a *Relator-Axis Sentence*,
banà ta agkatawo tampol natobay. In another example, however,
'because no-I-you soon replied'
'They are killing each other because of food', the *Cause Margin* is expounded by *banà ha pamamangan*. Harriet Minot, in
'because-of food'
Botolan Sambal, assigns the *Cause Margin* a pre-nuclear position but on the other hand states that it may permute to post-nuclear. She also states that *Cause Margin* and *Concessive Margin* are mutually exclusive in the same sentence.

In Inibaloi, Lee Ballard posits two *Cause Margins*: "The *Cause Margin* tagmemes contrast in their manifesting conjunctions... *CauM 1* occurs only pre-nucleus, and *CauM 2* occurs post-nucleus and pre-nucleus when preceded by another peripheral tagmeme". Thus, the following *Relators* figure in *Cause Margin 1*: *saan ta*, *kapota*, *shapot shi*, and *madatep*, 'because', and *Cause Margins* thus introduced may not permute to post-nuclear. On the other hand the *Relators tep* and *ta* 'because' figure in *Cause Margin 2*. Ballard gives examples of *Cause Margin 2* with *tep* 'because' occurring both pre-nuclear and post-nuclear. All his examples of *Cause Margin 2* with *ta* 'because' are, however, post-nuclear. At any rate, whatever the distributional restrictions, there is no discernible meaning different in *Cause Margin 1* versus *Cause Margin 2*.

1.3.3.2 *Reason Margins*

In some languages a *Reason Margin* tagmeme is posited.[11] In some instances this is simply a *Cause Margin* under different name. Thus in Kalamian Tagbanwa, a *Reason Margin* occurs in post-nuclear position and employs three *Relators* all of which mean 'because' (including the Spanish loanword *purki*). Similarly in Agta, *Reason Margin* is simply an alternative label for *Cause Margin*; but one *Relator te* 'because' is employed. In Siocon Subanon, Willian Hall posits in post-nuclear position both a *Cause Margin* and a *Reason Margin*. The former has *pò* 'because' as *Relator*; the latter has as *Relators sabab non/sog* 'the reason being' and *kabal non/nong* 'by reason'. Perhaps these are but alternative exponents of the *Cause Margin*. On the other hand, the so-called *Reason Margin* tagmeme can also be expounded by a noun phrase (while the *Cause Margin* is not so expounded): *kabal nok kodasig non* 'by reason of his strength'. Furthermore, the *Cause Margin* with *pò* as *Relator* has a complexity in its exponence (embedded sentences often containing their own

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[11] In Tausug a suggested *Reason Margin* might better be absorbed into the framework of the *Reason Sentence*.

Cause Margin with *pò*) that is not found in any of Hall's examples of *Reason Margin*.

1.3.3.3 Circumstantial Margins

Often somewhat mildly causative in force is the *Circumstantial Margin* posited in Sangir, Siocon Subanon, Tausug, Balangao, Bontoc, Ilianen Manobo, Dibabawon Manobo, Ata Manobo, Agta, Bilaan, Maranao, and Kalamian Tagbanwa. The various *Relators* involved in *Circumstantial Margins* in these languages are usually translated as 'since' except the following: Siocon Subanon (two markers) 'as long as' and 'since'; Tausug 'since/when'; Kalamian Tagbanwa 'since/in that'; Koronadal Bilaan 'since/due to'; and Maranao 'while it is true that...' Thus, the *Circumstantial Margin* in Tausug overlaps semantically with the *Time Margin* and in Koronadal Bilaan with the *Cause Margin*; while in Maranao it appears to be mildly concessive. In most cases, however, the *Circumstantial Margin* sketches the situation out of which a given course of action arises. The following Dibabawon Manobo examples (Jannette Forster) are typical (*Relator*: *mano* 'since'): 'Since it was far it took me a long time to get there.' 'Since you have just recently returned to our place, why are you in such a hurry to return home?' 'Since your child's behavior is good, friend, we will have the wedding right away.' The *Circumstantial Margin* is given a pre-nuclear position by all who posit such a tagmeme--although permutation to post-nuclear is allowed in some of the languages.

1.3.3.4 Purpose Margins

Purpose Margin tagmeme is posited in all the languages except Ilianen Manobo (Jean Shand). In the latter, the *Cause Margin* serves to express not only cause but intention and result as well. Thus, while *su* 'because' is the *Relator* with a *Cause Margin* in Ilianen Manobo, nevertheless with the correct tense-mode of the verb it can serve to express purpose as well: *Lu'lu' ke en su emu ka mekekaan en* 'Rinse your hands because you will eat,' i.e. 'Rinse your hands so that you can eat.'

Although in no other language do *Cause Margin* and *Purpose Margin* structurally collapse as in Ilianen Manobo, it is not uncommon to find that the conjunction meaning 'because' figures in a longer conjunctive complex which means 'so that' or 'in order to'. Thus in Agta, *te* means 'because', while *petta*(*am*) or *te petta*(*am*) means 'so that'; in Koronadal Bilaan *du* means 'because' while *du* + *fye*/*manì*/*manì fye*/*fara* [Spanish *para*] means 'so that' (as do also *manì*, *manì fye*, and *du* by itself like *su* in Ilianen Manobo); in Itneg while *ta* may express either cause or puspose other members of the two sets of

Relators are distinct, i.e. *tay*, *tayya*, *ata*, *atay*, and *gapo ta* mean 'because' while *san*, *sannon*, mean 'so that'; in Mansaka *kay* means 'because' while *antak* and *daw* mean 'so that' and 'lest (not)', but *kay antak* and *kay daw* also mark *Purpose Margin*; in Ata Manobo *su* means 'because' and *oyow* means 'so that' as does also *su oyow*; in Dibabawon Manobo *su* and *kay* mean 'because' (Forster identifies the latter as a Visayan loanword); and *agun*, *awos*, and *pada* (Spanish loan *para*) mean 'so that' but any of the latter can prepose *su* as well; in Botolan Sambal there is overlap only of an optional element: *bana* (*ta*) 'because' and (*ta*) *emen* 'so that'; in Tausug where apparently *bat*, means both 'because' and 'so that' this *Relator* attracts the enclitic pronoun only when meaning the latter while other specific *Relators* further distinguish the two sentence margins. In some cases, however, the *Relators* or sets of *Relators* used in the two margins are wholly dissimilar (Kalinga, Binukid Manobo, Sangir, Siocon Subanon, Tagabili, and Kalamian Tagbanwa).

In Batak the *Purpose Margin* also expresses result when the *Relator ay pa* is used: 'Then clip it there so that (*ay pa*) it will be strong.' '...you have not returned, therefore (*ay pa*) we are lonesome for you.' When the *Relator para* (Spanish loan) is used only the former meaning is expressed. 'Return here quickly to our place so that (*para*) you can visit the house.' Perhaps a *Result Margin* can be distinguished with the *Relator ay pa*, while *Purpose Margin* proper has the *Relator ay pa* or *para*.

Purpose Margin is allocated to a post-nuclear position (with possible permutation to pre-nuclear in some languages) in every language except in Sangir where Kenneth Maryott assigns the whole margin system to pre-nucleus with unrestricted permutation to post-nuclear.

1.3.3.5 *Result Margins*

In four languages, Siocon Subanon, Sangir, Tagabili, and Bontoc, *Result Margin* is posited in addition to *Purpose Margin*. In Siocon Subanon (William Hall) the *Result Margin* is expounded by a *Relator-Axis Sentence* whose *Relator* is *sogaga* 'therefore': 'Now he couldn't finish eating the pig, therefore (*sogaga*) he left it behind.' In Sangir (Kenneth Maryott) there is a similar *Relator hakìu* 'with the result that': 'It turned out that I raised my hands and as a result (*hakìu*) the rifle was lowered after being aimed at me.' In Tagabili (Nancy Howison), there are two *Relators*, *baling* 'therefore', with the result that', and *botong* 'to the extent that': 'They give all they need to others with the result that (*baling*) they forget to think about their own needs.' 'How deep it is, to-the-extent-that-I (*botonge*) am submerged.'[12] In Bontoc, the *Relator* is *isonga* which is glossed as 'that is why, so' by Lawrence Reid but which seems to express result ('therefore, with the result that') quite like the *Relators* just exemplified in the other three languages: 'The soldiers helped the Americans and so (*isonga*) all the Japanese were killed'. *Result Margin* is post-nuclear in the languages where it occurs.

1.3.3.6 *Chance/Anticipatory/Hortatory Margins*

One other sort of sentence margin, related to the above, is found in a few languages where it is variously labelled: *Chance Margin*[13] in Kalamian Tagbanwa and and Tagabili; *Anticipatory Margin* in Agta; and *Hortatory Margin* in Itneg. To some degree the difference in labelling reflects differences in the exponence and functions of these sentence margins which have been posited in the various languages. Nevertheless, all have the common element of being some sort of specialized or attentuated purpose or cause with a certain overtone of uncertainty or insecurity.

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[12] There is a possibility, however, that these Tagabili structures should be analyzed differently. In several cases Howison translates *baling* as a verb meaning 'become':
Okom yem suk yó baling yem nga funem.
But the knife that becomes the child owner-it
i.e. 'But as for that knife, the child becomes the owner of it.'
In other cases *baling* is used as verb expounding Predicate in *Base 2* of a merged sentence. (One such type is posited in Tagabili as *Simultaneous Sentence* which corresponds to the *Merged Sentence* in the closely-related Koronadal Bilaan):
Ne tuda le huli du sla baling ikongen
and throw they after him spoon become tail-his
i.e. 'and they threw the spoon after him (it) became his tail'.
It seems possible, therefore, that *baling* does not expound a *Relator* even in the example given above but that the whole sentence may be some other structure.

[13] A margin which is labelled *Chance Margin* in Balangao by Joanne Shetler but which is really something quite different is described under 1.3.4.3.

In Kalamian Tagbanwa (Edward Ruch), the *Chance Margin* "expresses a mildly hopeful wish with regard to the action or situation in the nucleus". The hoped for eventuality is appealed to as a motivation--and is thus akin to the *Cause Margin*. The *Relator* itself is a rather complex element in Kalamian Tagbanwa in that it consists of *baski*/*basi* + *pa* + *ra ilem* + *ang* (ligature). Thus: 'Let's hunt pigs at Matung if perchance (*basi pang*) there are pigs there now'. And: 'Let's try to ask for a prefab schoolhouse if perchance (*baski pang*) we will be given one'. Although Ruch translates the *Relator* complex in both instances as 'if perchance' it seems to me that 'because...may/might' would not be an inappropriate translation and would highlight the fact that the *Chance Margin* is more akin to the *Teleological Margins* than to the *Implicational Margins* (see below 1.3.3).

In Tagabili and Itneg, the *Chance* (or *Hortatory*) *Margin* expresses a sort of warning, so that 'lest' is often a not inappropriate translation of its *Relator*. In Tagabili the *Relator* is *kô* 'lest' which also is used as an adverb meaning 'perhaps'. The nucleus of a sentence which contains a *Chance Margin* either makes some sort of negative statement or suggestion or at least regards some contemplated activity with anxiety. The *Chance Margin* gives the reason for the prohibition or anxiety, and is thus seen to be akin to the *Cause Margin*. Thus, in Tagabili: 'But I don't want to borrow from them, lest (*kô*) their work would be slowed down'. Again: 'Make the boundary clear, lest (*kô*) they go over it again.' And finally: 'I was afraid of a horse when I was small, lest (*kô*) he might bite (me).'

The *Relator* of the Itneg *Hortatory Margin* is *di la ket ta* 'lest, so that...not'. The nucleus of a sentence which contains this margin usually expresses an activity (often the verbal activity of advising or teaching) which is directed toward avoidance of some undesirable outcome which is stated in the margin. It seems, therefore, that the Itneg *Hortatory Margin* is more akin to the *Purpose* than to the *Cause Margin*. Thus: 'He turned around running lest (*di la ket ta*) there be something to fall on him'. More typical is a sentence nucleus in which there is a verbal activity: 'And I give this parable for you to discern lest (*di la ket ta*) you brothers have no unity.' Again: 'That's why I'm advising you all this lest (*di la ket ta*) you act like the others...'

In Agta, there is an *Anticipatory Margin* certain examples of which resemble the Kalamian Tagbanwa *Chance Margin*, and others the Tagabili *Chance Margin*. In the following examples, as in Kalamian Tagbanwa, the *Anticipatory Margin* of Agta expresses a "mildly hopeful wish" which is appended as a motivation or reason: 'Let's go hunting, brother-in-law, in case (*talo am*) we can get something' (presumably this could also be translated 'because we might get something'). In the following example, the *Anticipatory Margin* of Agta is more similar to the Tagabili *Chance Margin* in that the nucleus of the sentence expresses anxiety the reason for which is given in the margin: '...I'm going to see my mother in case (*talo am*) she is sick.' In both examples, however, the *Anticipatory Margin* of Agta is seen to be akin to the *Cause Margin* in that we are able to translate the former as 'because...may/might'.

These quasi-causal, quasi-purpose margins in Kalamian Tagbanwa, Tagabili, Itneg, and Agta all are postposed to the nucleus, where *Cause Margin* and *Purpose Margin* are also typically found.

1.3.4 The *Implicational Margins*

1.3.4.1 *Implicational Margin* versus *Implicational Sentence*

It remains to describe a type of margin which is not posited at all in some of the data papers underlying this study but which undoubtedly could be posited in all of them, viz. *Conditional* and *Concessive Margins.* The problem is this: Granted the existence of a sentence such as 'If he got there yesterday he made good time', what is the status of the 'if' clause (or 'if' *Relator-Axis Sentence* since the string following 'if' need not be restricted to a clause)? Does 'if he got there yesterday' expound a further *Sentence Margin* tagmeme (somewhat parallel to *Temporal Margin* and *Circumstantial Margin*) or is the whole string a nuclear sentence pattern with the constituent tagmemes *Protasis* and *Apodosis* (parallel to other sentence patterns)?

Some data papers in the first workshop adopted the second analysis to the exclusion of the first. As a result, no *Conditional* or *Concessive Margins* are posited in Binukid (Manobo), Atta Negrito, Agta, or Tagabili. In Koronadal Bilaan, while a *Concessive Margin* is posited, no *Conditional Margin* is posited. In all other languages *Conditional* and *Concessive Margins* have been posited--in some to the exclusion of any sort of *Conditional* or *Concessive Sentence* types; in others, not to the exclusion of one or more sentences of these types.

Where both *Implicational Margins* and *Implicational Sentences* are posited in the same language, either (a) a specialized sentence pattern is found with *Markers* functionally similar to but not identical with the *Relators* of an *Implicational Margin;* or (b) the *Relator-Axis Sentence* which expounds an *Implicational*

Margin has been brought into the nucleus in some regular way. It is not the place here however, to discuss Implicational Sentences of either the sort subsumed under (a) or (b) above; these matters are presented in 2.4.5.

In weighing the conflicting parallelisms and analytical pressures in favor of analysis as Implicational Margin versus analysis as Implicational Sentence types, it is well to note that the various sorts of implicational strings differ in their degree of internal cohesiveness and cross-reference. A sentence margin should involve a minimum of restriction on the nucleus to which it is added. On the other hand the parts of the sentence nucleus should have a certain mutual dependence, cross-reference, and cohesiveness. It seems plausible that a simple condition (not contrary to fact, and not specifically cross-referenced to in the sentence nucleus) should be considered to be a sentence margin plus nucleus. On the other hand, it seems equally plausible that Implicational Sentences should be posited in other circumstances--unless the type of cross-reference and restriction found between an Implicational Margin and the sentence nucleus seem to be in no significant respect different from those found between any margin and nucleus.

1.3.4.2 Conditional Margin versus Time Margin

Another structural ambiguity in many Philippine languages turns on the fact that in Relator-Axis Sentences in some languages there is a Relator which is apparently ambiguous as to 'when' versus 'if' and in some cases means 'whenever'. Are Relator-Axis Sentences with such a Relator exponents of Temporal Margin or of Conditional Margin? This ambiguity can usually be resolved by (a) attention to the total sets of Relators involved in Time Margin versus Conditional Margin; (b) the possibility of varying the Conditional Margin plus nucleus to produce culturally viable alternatives while no such alternatives are implied with a Time Margin; and (c) the regular use of Time Margins in sentences that expound paragraph level BUILD-UP and STEP tagmemes (in NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS) versus the use of Conditional Margins in sentences that expound ALTERNATIVE STEPS (in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS) or which expound tagmemes in EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS (e.g. REASON and WARNING tagmemes).

Thus in Dibabawon Manobo (Jannette Forster), while ko 'when/if' is a Relator in both Time and Circumstantial Margins, in the former function it belongs to a set of Relators which include five other items (there are still other exponents of Time Margin which do not involve Relators viz. noun phrases and and gerundative phrases); and in the latter function not only ko but the Spanish loan basta 'if' also occurs. In Tagabili

(Nancy Howison) there are *Time Margins* expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentences* with definite time expressions and with the *Relator* expounded by *tikóng* or *timbów* 'when'; there are also *Time Margins* expounded by expressions which are indefinite and with the *Relator* expounded by some five or six items including *ke*/*sok*/*kesok* 'when'. *Conditional Margin* (actually handled as a sentence pattern by Howison) is expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentences* whose sole relator is *ke* 'if'. In Western Bukidnon Manobo there is a two-fold ambiguity: *ke* 'when/if' and *emun* 'when/if'. But there is also *hein* 'when' and *basta* 'if' which do not display this ambiguity plus other distinctive exponents of *Time Margin* that are not *Relator-Axis Sentences*. In Ilianen Manobo, *embiya* likewise means 'when/if', but again there are other exponents of *Time Margin* and other *Relators* of *Relator-Axis Sentences* that expound *Time Margin*. Furthermore, as a *Relator* in exponents of *Conditional Margin*, *embiya* may be replaced by *ke* 'relator', or compounded with it as *ke embiya*.

As stated above, with the *Conditional Margin*, while it is possible to vary the margin-nucleus combination to produce culturally viable alternatives, this is not possible with the *Time Margin*. Howison uses this criterion in Tagabili to disambiguate *ke* 'when/if'. Thus, she gives two Tagabili examples: (a) *ke bong*, *hebli le kom*, 'If it is big, they make you buy it' and (b) *Ali bong hni le ke meyehen*. 'They ask a big bride price, when there is a marriage.' Howison comments regarding the first example: "There is a definite condition to be fulfilled (it must be a large amount), or else they just give it without price." Regarding the second example she comments: "It is a foregone conclusion that a Tagabili girl will marry; there is no alternative in mind in the example given, and it would not make sense to say 'If there is not a marriage, they don't ask a big bride price'." Howison therefore interprets *ke* in the first sentence as conditional, and in the second as temporal.

Not dissimilar is William Hall's disambiguation of *bug* 'when/if' and *bila* 'when/if' in Siocon Subanon: "In the *RAS 3* [exponent of *Conditional Margin*]...*bug* and *bila* 'if' represent a state or event which in the speaker's view is tentative and is one of two or more eventualities. This contrasts with *bug* and *bila* 'when' which in the speaker's view represents a state or event that is expected or inevitable."

This criterion seems to have been employed implicitly in several languages of Northern Luzon where a *nu* (or *no*) 'when/if' *Relator* is found in many languages. Thus, in Atta Negrito, a *Time Margin* is posited with two exponents, the gerundative and

Relator-Axis Sentence with *nu* 'when' as *Relator*, while in *Conditional Sentences* *nu* occurs meaning 'if'. In all the examples of the latter (which probably should be interpreted as *Conditional Margin* plus nucleus), there are clear alternatives. In Itneg, there is a variety of *Relators* which occur in *Time Margin*. But, again *no* occurs both meaning 'when' in such margins and meaning 'if' in *Conditional Margins*. As Janice Walton expresses it, "Only when a true condition can be translated is *no* considered to mean 'if'." The situation in Balangao is almost identical with that found in Atta Negrito; again *no* 'when/if' is apparently disambiguated on the basis of the possibility of offering alternatives when a true condition is present. For Kalinga, Richard Gieser hesitates to posit a *Conditional Margin* (versus *Time Margin*) because of the ambiguity of the *no* particle--although the situation in Kalinga is not materially different from that found in Atta Negrito, or Balangao, and similar to that in Itneg.

In all the above, distribution of sentences containing *no* 'when' versus *no* 'if' is a further criterion. In the light of the study of paragraph structure in Volume I, Part 2, it is clear that *Time Margins* function in linking the successive BUILD-UP tagmemes within NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS and the STEP tagmemes within PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS, while *Conditional Margins* function in the exponents of ALTERNATIVE STEP tagmeme within PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS and REASON and WARNING tagmemes in EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. Application of this distributional criterion in disambiguating *no* 'when/if' in Botolan Sambal is quite clear (see Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 2.5).

1.3.4.3 Languages with more than one *Conditional Margin*

For Inibaloi, Lee Ballard posits two *Conditional Margins*. His analysis is further divergent from those just indicated in that he considers all instances of *no* 'when/if' to be consignable to the *Conditional Margin 1*. Ballard comments: "There appears to be no contrast between a condition fulfilled or sure to take place but irregular or uncertain as to time (translated by the English 'when/whenever') and a condition about which there is some doubt (translated by English 'if'). Both are regarded as conditions or circumstances under which the events of the sentence take place." Ballard goes on to posit as two variants of *Conditional Margin 1* the general *Conditional Margin* and the *Contrary to Fact Conditional Margin* (with the latter marked with additional "subjunctive, frustrative" particles). The fact that *Contrary to Fact Conditional Margins* are all assignable to *Conditional Margin 1* and not to *Conditional Margin 2* is of relevance to a possible semantic destinction between the two, as seen in the next paragraph.

I quote at length from Ballard in regard to his positing of two Conditional Margins in Inibaloi:

> "The two Conditional Margin tagmemes also manifest contrasting conjunctions: no, into no, and kamo ni in CondM 1 and nem in CondM 2. Positionally, CondM 1 tends to occur pre-nucleus (95% of occurrences), and CondM 2 tends to occur post-nucleus (75% of occurrences). In almost all of the hundreds of examples in text material, CondM 1 and CondM 2 appear identical lexically, meaning 'if...', 'when...', 'whenever...'. However, overlap in meaning is not complete. CondM 2 indicates in some contexts a condition that is more sure to take place or more specific as to time reference. Thus in the dialogue (from text material) that follows, the second speaker changes from CondM 2 to CondM 1:
>
> Speaker #1: Si Handro i binidin ko ey Pangamag ka ni
> ordered I make you
> ikdogan to nem man-ikdog.
> nest her when lays-eggs
> 'Handro was the one I ordered: "Make a nest (for the hen) when she begins to lay eggs."'
>
> Speaker #2: Talaka'n iamagkan to no aman-ikdog.
> probably make-for he if laying-eggs
> 'Probably he will make one for her if she is laying.'
>
> "As an experiment, the following minimal pair was given to an informant to distinguish:
>
> Asan nak bayshi nem w̃ara'y pidaken ko.
> then I pay-for when is get-money I
> 'I will pay for it when I get some money.'
> Asan nak bayshi no wara'y pidaken ko.
> then I pay-for when is get-money I
> 'I will pay for it when I get some money.'
>
> "The informant reacted that in the latter case the store owner would not extend credit! In the former case, he might, depending on the man."

There are a few languages in which the Relator(s) of the Conditional Margin are unique and do not occur with exponents of the Time Margins (unless otherwise specified, the Relators mean 'if'): Mansaka aw, Agta Negrito am, Maranao o(ba) 'if', asar 'provided that, as long as', Tausug bang.

In Batak, Rosemary Rodda posits a Provisional Margin expounded by a Relator-Axis Sentence whose Relator is basta 'as long as, provided that'. While the Conditional Margin (with Relator: in 'if') occurs characteristically pre-nuclear and may permute to post-nuclear, the *Provisional Margin* is post-nuclear. In other languages the Spanish loanword *basta* (often meaning simply 'if') is considered to be simply a further exponent of the *Relator* in the *Relator-Axis Sentences* that expound *Conditional Margin* (cf. Dibabawon Manobo, Western Bukidnon Manobo, and Aborlan Tagbanwa.)

In Balangao, Joanne Shetler posits not only a *Conditional Margin* but *Possibility* and *Chance Margins*. The *Possibility Margin* has a *Relator mag-ay ta/no* 'should, when'. She observes: "This margin occurs in a pre-nuclear position and is most frequent in PROCEDURE texts." The *Conditional Margin*, by contrast has simply the *no* 'if' *Relator* and is pre-nuclear permuting to post-nuclear. Shetler's examples are of the following sort: 'Should (*mag-ay ta*) there be a bus...don't walk'. 'Should (*mag-ay ta*) you say you'll make a clearing, you must make your clearing in the month of March.' Sometimes the *Possibility Margin* resembles a *Time Margin*: 'Should (*mag-ay ta*) it be at daybreak...'.

The Balangao *Chance Margin* is not distributionally distinct from *Conditional Margin* in that both are pre-nuclear permuting to post-nuclear. Furthermore, *Chance Margin* and *Conditional Margin* do not co-occur with the same sentence nucleus. *Chance Margin* has a *Relator no an an* 'were it/if only...would'. Probably it figures most in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. Thus: 'We won't get ancient before we marry, if you would but (*no an an*) finish school.' The possibility should be explored that the Balangao *Chance Margin* is a variant of *Conditional Margin* rather than a separate tagmeme.

1.3.4.4 *Concessive Margins*

Concessive Margins are similar in meaning to *Conditional Margins*. The latter represent, however, a contrary fact or extremity in spite of which the action represented in the sentence nucleus is carried out, and are therefore often translated as 'although...', or 'even if...'. When the *Relator* of a *Concessive Margin* is followed by an interrogative or indefinite proword the meaning is on the order of 'whosoever, whatever, wheresoever, whensoever', or 'no matter who/what/where/when'.

For Inibaloi, Lee Ballard posits two variants of the *Concessive Margin*: "The *Concessive Margin* is expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentence 4* and *Relator-Axis Sentence 8*. The former indicates a matter represented as of no great consequence or importance relative to the event(s) of the nucleus. The latter indicates an adverse circumstance in spite of which the event(s) of the nucleus take place."

The first subtype, expounded by the structure that Ballard terms *Relator-Axis Sentence 4* has *Relator* expounded by *angken* 'even though', 'no matter that'. Thus: 'Even though (*angken*) you yourselves have children, those who brought you into the world still give you advice if you do wrong.' Again: 'Even though it is late, I say "Thank you" for sending me the news.' Ballard footnotes that *angken* may occur by itself as an introductory particle as in 'No matter (*angken*) my house here is the place for him to eat'. Alternatively, others have regarded such a 'no matter' particle as simply a further exponent of *Concessive Margin* (cf. Gieser below for Kalinga). Other examples occur with *angken* as *Relator* followed by an *Axis* whose first word is an interrogative: 'No matter (*angken*) what (*ngaran*) his social standing is, we will eat with him at the same table...'

The second Inibaloi subtype of *Concessive Margin* is expounded by *Relator-Axis Sentence 8*, whose *Relator* is *pa-jan* or *ampoet*/*agpoet* 'even though'. 'Even though (*pa-jan*) they gossiped about him, he was persistent in going to church.' 'Even though (*ampoet*) I walked [after him] hard and called out, he wouldn't stop.'

Richard Gieser also posits two subtypes of *Concessive Margins* in Kalinga, a "no matter" subtype and an "even though" subtype. In both subtypes the *Relator* is the same [*qulay*(*no*) 'even (if)'], but in the first subtype, an interrogative or demonstrative ('this', 'that', 'that somewhat removed') follows in the string that expounds the *Axis*, while in the second subtype other structures expound the *Axis*. Furthermore, in the second subtype, the *Relator* *qulay* may appear absolutely (i.e. without any following *Axis*), in which case it means 'Nevertheless...'. Thus, for subtype 1: 'No one can get the moon, no matter (*qulay*) who (*sinu*) [he is]'. And: 'No matter (*qulay*) what (*sinu-t*) a person was doing, when he heard what they shouted he stopped and...' Again: '...no matter (*qulay no*) for that (*siyadi*), we are fine, for the body has been paid for and the killer is imprisoned.' In subtype 2: 'and even though (*qulay no*) they know that he has been sick a long time, when he is about to die they have a *posipus* [ceremony] for him again as the last occasion for him.' For *qulay* used absolutely: 'Nevertheless (*qulay*), as usual I'll look for a substitute for her.'

These examples from Inibaloi and Kalinga represent quite well the range and variety of exponence of *Concessive Margin* in the various Philippine languages. In a few cases the concessive *Relator* is regularly followed by the conditional *Relator*. This has been already exemplified above in Kalinga where *qulay* 'even', 'although' is often followed by *no* 'if'. In most analyses the whole complex 'even if' is simply considered to be the particle phrase that expounds Relator in Concessive Margins. An alternative analysis (followed by Joanne Shetler in Balangao and Lawrence Reid in Bontoc) is to consider that a Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence may expound Axis of a Concessive Relator-Axis Sentence. The alternative analyses simply reflect differences in immediate constituent division: (a) 'Even if he goes, I'm not going' versus (b) 'Even if he goes, I'm not going.'

The Relator of Concessive Margin is found optionally before Sentence Topic in some languages; such examples may be confused with Concessive Margins. Thus, in Bilaan balù 'although' is the Relator of the Concessive Margin and also occurs before Sentence Topic with the meaning 'as for...'. In Balangao either ulay or taen, Relators of the Concessive Margin may occur before Sentence Topic with the meaning 'even' (as in 'Even John, he couldn't make it'). In Ata Manobo agad 'although' means 'even' or 'also' when occurring with the Sentence Topic.

In Itneg, the morpheme olay 'even' is even more general in distribution. I quote from Janice Walton:

> "Olay is a word meaning 'even'. This word occurs (1) as the Relator of the RAS Conc. and (2) in conjunction with any margin to add a concessive meaning to that margin. The forming of a complex of relators is a common occurrence in Itneg...However, in cases where the Relators cluster together to become a single Relator before a single axis, the lexical meaning of the Relators merge into one meaning. Olay, on the contrary, when clustered with another Relator always retains its lexical meaning of 'even' while the Relator to which it is joined likewise retains its meaning. If a Concessive Margin is posited whenever the word olay occurs then we face making STM, TM, CaM, CondM, etc. become ConcM solely because olay is present."

Granted this non-specific distribution of the Itneg olay morpheme, it follows that olay 'even' plus no 'if' does not become the Relator of a Concessive Margin but is instead simply a reinforced Relator of a Conditional Margin. Note the following: 'When I was sent again, even (olay) if I only got fire, he'd give me twenty centavos (reinforced Conditional Margin). Cf. also olay before a Time Margin: 'When day, even (olay) when daybreak, he left.'

Concessive Margin is usually preposed to the nucleus but may permute to post-nuclear. Of the various exponents of the concessive Relator, maski (Spanish loan mas que) is not uncommon (Mansaka, Tagbanwa, and Botolan Sambal).

1.3.5 Systems of sentence margin

The sentence margin tagmemes plus or minus Sentence Topic form systems with parameters in some of the languages.

1.3.5.1 Systems of nine margins

Our best examples of well-formed systems of sentence margins are from Sangir, Siocon Subanon, and Batak. In each of these cases the data suggest three by three systems. In fact, the systems of margins in Sangir and Siocon Subanon differ in no essential feature. Other systems are suggested for other languages, but there are difficulties which indicate that some such systems are tentative and need further study.

Kenneth Maryott's system of sentence margins in Sangir was the first system posited. I reproduce, with some adaptation, his diagram of the system. In this system one dimension of the system is the order of the event/state represented in the margin to that of the event/state represented in the sentence nucleus. Thus, there are three Time Margins which Maryott terms Prior Time Margin (TMp) as in 'After he did that...'; Concurrent Time Margin (TMc) as in 'While he did that...'; and Subsequent Time Margin (TMs) as in 'When he had not yet done that...' or 'Before he did that...' Maryott then groups Condition Margin and Cause Margin along with Prior Time Margin in the prior column as either logically or temporally prior. He also groups Purpose Margin and Result Margin along with Subsequent Time Margin as logically or temporally subsequent. Concessive Margin and Circumstantial Margin are grouped with Concurrent Time Margin in the central column in that they encode circumstances, whether adverse (Concessive Margin) or somewhat neutral or even favorable (Circumstantial Margin) regarded as the contemporary setting of the nucleus.

The vertical dimension of the Sangir sentence margin system represents the relation between the margin and the nucleus. The relation may be strictly temporal--as in the top row; strictly logical--as in the bottom row; or somewhat intermediate (logical-temporal, but at all events somewhat hypothetical)--as in the middle row.

ORDER RELATION	PRIOR	CONCURRENT	SUBSEQUENT
TEMPORAL	TMp: Stative Cl (past) Time Cl (consummated) RAS; R: <'after'>	TMc: Stative Cl (non-past imperfect) RAS; R: <'while'> Temporal Ph	TMs: Stative Cl (past negative) Time Cl (projected) RAS; R: <'until'>
LOGICO-TEMPORAL	Cond M: RAS; R: <'if'>	Conc M: RAS; R: <'although'>	Pur M: RAS; R: <'in order to'>
LOGICAL	Cause M: RAS; R: <'because'>	Cir M: RAS; R: <'since'>	Res M: RAS; R: <'with the result that'>

RAS = Relator-Axis Sentence
R = Relator

SANGIR SENTENCE MARGIN SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 1

One important feature of Maryott's treatment of sentence margins I have omitted from the chart. He treats sentence introductory conjunctions as exponents of sentence margin tagmemes. In Vol. I, Part 1, Sec. 1.1.1 I suggested that particles meaning such things as 'and then' function as *pro-margins* in that they may occur in place of a *Time Margin*. Although I did not proceed to make such conjunctions actual exponents of *Time Margins*, this is precisely what Maryott has done. Thus he posits that *tangu* 'then' can expound any Sangir *Time Margin* while *diadi* 'therefore' can expound any margin tagmeme of the bottom row. He does not suggest conjunctions as exponents of the middle row of sentence margins but possibly such could be found on further investigation. Thus, Richard Gieser (Kalinga) posits *qulay* 'although' occurring by itself as an exponent of *Concessive Margin* wherein it could probably be translated 'nevertheless'.

This brings up the very interesting possibility that in any language with an extensive system of sentence-initial conjunctions, each conjunction could be considered to be an exponent of one or more sentence margins and that a conjunction slot not be set up in the sentence periphery to accomodate these conjunctions. It also gives some credence to Joanne Shetler's making the *Sentence Introducer* tagmeme part of the inner periphery for Balangao.

Kenneth Maryott follows up his presentetion of the *Relator-Axis Sentences* that expound the various margins with a paradigmatic presentation of the nine margins. I reproduce below this very illustrative and useful array:

> "The following nine elicited sentences constitute a paradigm in which each sub-type of the RAS is displayed in a minimally contrastive environment. Permutation of margin to final position in each sentence is alleged by informant to be 'same' in meaning and 'common' in usage."

1) The Temporal Margin Prior Sub-Type
Bòu *ià* *kuiang*, *méhalê*.
[TMp] after I called [N] work
'After I am called, I work.'

2) The Temporal Margin Concurrent Sub-Type
Téntalang *iā* *kuiang*, *méhalê*.
[TMc] while I called [N] work
'While I am called, I work.'

3) The Temporal Margin Subsequent Sub-Type
Sarang *ià* *kuiang*, *méhalê*.
[TMs] until I called [N] work
'Until I am called, I work.'

4) The Condition Sub-Type
Kerèu ià kuiang, méhalê.
[Cnd] if I called [N] work
'If I am called, I work.'

5) The Concession Sub-Type
Maning ià kuiang, méhalê.
[Cnc] even-tho I called [N] work
'Even though I am called, I work.'

6) The Purpose Sub-type
Tadeàu ià kuiang, méhalê.
[Pur] to I called [N] work
'In order to be called, I work.'

7) The Cause Sub-Type
Batùu ià kuiang, méhalê.
[Cau] because I called [N] work
'Because I am called, I work.'

8) The Circumstance Sub-Type
Kere ià kuiang, méhalê.
[Cir] since I called [N] work
'Since I am called, I work.'

9) The Result Sub-Type
Hakìu ià kuiang, méhalê.
[Res] result I called [N] work
'With the result that I am called (for further work), I work.'

The inventory of sentence margins as posited by William Hall in Siocon Subanon do not constitute a well-formed system. Nevertheless, as we have already indicated, the Siocon Subanon data possibly indicate three Time Margins rather than simply two. We have also suggested that possibly the Reason Margin tagmeme should not be considered to be distinct from the Cause Margin tagmeme. With these two modifications--positing a further Time Margin and collapsing the Reason with the Cause Margin--the Siocon Subanon sentence margin system becomes identical with that suggested by Kenneth Maryott for Sangir, i.e. it now has a top row consisting of three Time Margins; a mid row consisting of Conditional, Concessive, and Purpose Margins; and a bottom row--consisting of Cause, Circumstantial, and Result Margins.

Rosemary Rodda likewise arranges the nine sentence margins that she posits for Batak into a three by three system. Like the Sangir and Siocon Subanon systems, the Batak system has a top row consisting of three Time Margins, and a mid row consisting of Conditional, Concessive, and Purpose Margins. The bottom row, however, has only its first cell (in the prior column) identical with that in the two systems already examined. Thus, the bottom row has: *Cause*, *Provisional*, and *Extent Margins*. The latter, in turn, seems definitely to refer to temporal relations.

By a couple of changes already suggested above, it would be possible to change the Batak sentence margin system into one all but identical with the two systems already presented. First of all, the *Extent Margin* might possibly be combined with *Time Margin 3*. The former is expounded by a *Relator-Axis Sentence* or relator-axis phrase with *asta* 'until'; the latter by a *Relator-Axis Sentence* with *ba'gu* 'before'. Both customarily occur in post-nuclear--although the *asta* construction can permute to pre-nuclear. Lexically, the two *Relators* both refer to an action or state subsequent to that of the nucleus. With *ba'gu* the action represented in the nucleus is simply prior to that of the margin; with *asta*, the action or state of the nucleus continues or persists until that represented in the margin begins. But lexical distinction of this magnitude may certainly occur within the same margin; both the 'before' and 'until' meanings are grouped under *Subsequent Temporal Margin* in Sangir.

If the suggestion above were adopted and the *Extent Margin* were collapsed with *Time Margin 3* in Batak, then this would leave vacant the lower right hand cell of the system. A further change already suggested, that of splitting the *Purpose Margin* into *Purpose* and *Result Margins* would give us the latter tagmeme which could then be moved into the vacant cell. This would then give us a system of margins identical in all cells with the systems posited in Sangir and Siocon Subanon except for the center cell of the bottom row. Here, while Sangir and Siocon Subanon have a *Circumstantial Margin*, Batak has a *Possibility Margin*. The Batak *Possibility Margin* seems, however, to fit the parameters of its system as well as the *Circumstantial Margin* in the other two languages.

1.3.5.2 Less extensive systems

Other attempts at building systems of sentence margins involve less extensive systems than the three systems just shown. Most of these further systems also involve one or more problems that give the impression that further study is needed. One common problem is that possibly not enough distinct *Time Margins* are posited. The sheer diversity of exponents when but one *Time Margin* is posited make it plausible that such is the case. Needless to say, it is difficult to arrive at a system of sentence margin tagmemes if there is doubt as to the type and number of margins that constitute the system. Thus, in Itneg there are seven sentence margin tagmemes posited by Janice Walton. The *Sentence Topic* is included in this count.

Without subtracting the Sentence Topic from the inner periphery--where it certainly belongs--we may still decide that it is not part of the system of sentence margins. The other six sentence margin tagmemes can then be arranged into the following system:

	SETTING	IMPLICATION	TELEOLOGICAL
ACTUAL	TM	ConcM	CauseM
HYPO-THETICAL	HortM	CondM	PurM

ITNEG SENTENCE MARGIN SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 2

While the above is not implausible as a system, if it were to prove that Itneg has several Time Margin tagmemes rather than just one, a wholly new system would result.

If as suggested by Reid's own comments, we posit not just one but two Time Margins in Bontoc then such a system as the following may be indicated:

	CHRONOLOGICAL	IMPLICA-TIONAL	TELEOLOGICAL	QUASI-TELEOLOGICAL
ACTUAL	TM_1	ConcM	CauM	CirM
HYPO-THETICAL	TM_2	CondM	PurM	ResM

BONTOC SENTENCE MARGIN SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 3

Joanne Shetler suggests the following system of "margins" --in which she includes the Sentence Introducer (introductory conjunctions) and the Sentence Topic:

ORIENTATION	CONDITIONAL	RESTRICTIVE	SETTING	REASON
Sentence Introducer	*CondM*	*CirM*	*ST*	*PurM*
TM	*ChanceM*	*PossM*	*ConcM*	*CauM*

BALANGAO SENTENCE MARGIN SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 4

Shetler's grouping into columns is plausible. Certainly both the *Sentence Introducer* and the *Time Margin* serve in a special way to orient a sentence to the surrounding context. *Conditional* and *Chance Margins* likewise belong together (and may indeed prove even to be the same tagmeme). The *Possibility Margin* is not functionally dissimilar from the *Circumstantial Margin*. A possible reason for putting *Sentence Topic* and *Concessive Margin* in the same column is that the *Concessive Relator ulay/taen* 'although, even' may also optionally precede *Sentence Topic*. *Purpose* and *Cause Margin* share common teleological significance. Shetler does not give horizontal parameters. I suggest *Actual* versus *Hypothetical* for the top and bottom rows with *Purpose Margin* being reassigned to the bottom row and *Cause Margin* to the top row within the column where they are now found. While this fits the latter four columns it does not seem to be relevant to the first column. Again, the biggest potential difficulty in the proposed scheme for Balangao sentence margins is the possibility that more than one *Time Margin* should be posited.

For Tausug, a neat two by four system of margins was posited by Seymour and Lois Ashley. It has seemed to me, however, that the *Reason Margin* tagmeme is not validly posited, hence we have the following defective system:

	SETTING	LOGICAL	CHRONOLOGICAL	TELEOLOGICAL
ACTUAL	*CirM*		*TM*	*CauM*
HYPOTHETICAL	*ConcM*	*CondM*	*LimitM*	*PurM*

TAUSUG SENTENCE MARGIN SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 5

As we have already explained, the Limit Margin is a further Time Margin. Possibly the hole in the system can be filled on further study. Thus, maybe either ConcM or CirM needs to be shifted to the second column and the Sentence Topic put into the first column.

Inibaloi, as analyzed by Lee Ballard has two Sentence Topic tagmemes, two Conditional Margins and two Cause Margins. Possibly with further study (and with positing of more than one Time Margin?) a system with two rows and several columns can be worked out.

In Mansaka (Gordon Svelmoe) and Kalagan (Donald Murray) three Time Margins are posited along with Conditional, Concessive, and Purpose Margins. These tagmemes correspond to the top two rows in the sort of system found in Sangir, Siocon Subanon, and Batak. But in both Mansaka and Kalagan only one further sentence margin, the Cause Margin is posited. Possibly these seven tagmemes should be combined with the Sentence Topic in some sort of two by four system.

Enough has been done in working out systems of sentence margins to indicate that such a task is worthwhile. Among other things, attention to the system of sentence margins which can be posited in a given language provides a further check on the validity of the number and type of sentence margin tagmemes that are posited. Furthermore, provided that the various analyses are consistent and based on the same criteria, systems of sentence margins lend themselves well to the typological comparison of languages--as do also the systems of sentence nuclei which are described in Section 3.

2 Nuclear structures

In presenting the structures which characterize sentence nuclei in Philippine languages, I discuss (1) the *Simple Sentence*; (2) *Coordination*, *Antithesis*, and *Alternation*; (3) sentences derived from paragraph structures; (4) sentences whose derivation involves incorporating an exponent of a sentence margin into the nucleus; (5) *Merged Sentences*; (6) *Quotation Sentences*; and (7) sentence types that are elaborations of Equational Clauses.

2.1 The *Simple Sentence*

The raison d'etre of the *Simple Sentence* is: (1) Clause complexes occur which are composed of more or less "independent" clauses; these complexes clearly outrun clause structures (which are strings of such units as Subject, Object, Predicate, and various adjunctive tagmemes). (2) With these clause complexes, which we term sentence nuclei, occur the peripheral features already described in detail above. (3) With these same peripheral features also occur sentence nuclei which contain not a clause complex of the sort indicated in (1) but either (a) just one clause or (b) a clause containing one or more subordinate clauses. (4) Furthermore, certain peripheral tagmemes--especially tagmemes of the outer periphery--sometimes occur in elliptical sentences that have no nucleus. To cover situation (3) some such unit as the *Simple Sentence* is required. Once posited such a sentence type can also cover situation (4), if we assume that there may occur contextually-dependent variants of the *Simple Sentence* with deletion of the sentence nucleus.

The *Simple Sentence*, even without deletion of the nucleus can be very brief as in the Agta *anu āmuk* 'How should I know?'; the Itneg *iso natayen* 'Then he died', and the Siocon Subanon *midoksu na* 'It is finished'. With ellipsis of the sentence nucleus, we get such examples as (Siocon Subanon): *saka* 'but...?' (with only *Sentence Introducer* tagmeme remaining; this occurs in dialogue as a request for information); *òo* 'yes'. (with only *Exclamation* [or *Response* tagmeme? REL] remaining; this occurs in dialogue as an answer to an inquiry). Other *Simple Sentences* consist of nuclei whose clause structures have suffered deletion. This is especially frequent in answers to questions, as in the Siocon Subanon: *dibabà* 'downriver'.

It does not follow, however, that a *Simple Sentence* is necessarily "simple" (in the sense of structurally uncomplicated) or even brief. Note the following partially analyzed Inibaloi example (from Lee Ballard):

CondM$_1$: No maypangkep ni kibot ni ngaran to, ST$_1$: sota
if concerning stealingof whatever the

amemongbong ni baka, nowang, kabajo, ono ngaran to'n animal,
rustling of cow carabao horse or whatever animal

ST$_2$: say panrisolta metlaeng ni dalakay ja mengowis nitan
outcome just-the-same of old men judge of that

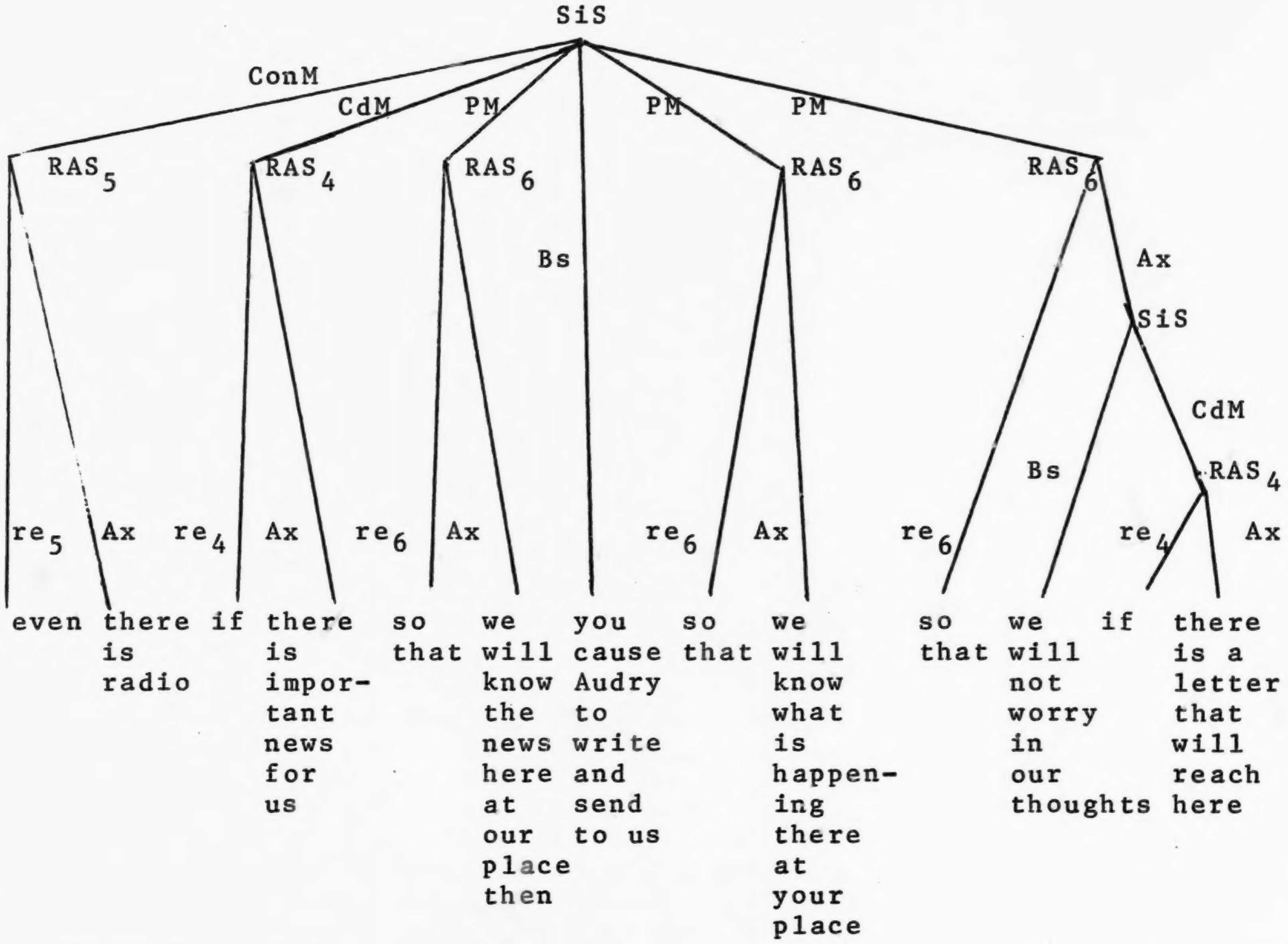
CondM$_1$: no inomas to la ma kinibot to'n nowang ono baka,
if disposed he that stole he carabao or cow

N: bayshan to ni pilak.
pay-for he with money

'If [the case] is concerning theft, the one who rustles a cow, carabao, horse, or whatever animal, the verdict of the old men judging the case, if he has disposed of the carabao or cow he stole, he will pay for it with money.'

In this sentence there is a recursive layering not well indicated by the interspersed partial analysis. The first Conditional Margin 1 (CondM$_1$) 'if the case is concerning theft' is followed by a nucleus which includes the balance of the entire sentence. But this nucleus (really = Sentence Base tagmeme) is itself a Simple Sentence with its own periphery. This embedded sentence has preposed Sentence Topic 1 (ST$_1$) 'as for the one who rustles a cow, carabao, or whatever animal'; a preposed Sentence Topic 2 (ST$_2$) 'as for the verdict of the old men judging the case'; a preposed Conditional Margin 1 (CondM$_1$) 'if he has disposed of the carabao or cow he stole'; and its own nucleus (Sentence Base tagmeme) 'he will pay for it with money'.

Notice also the enclosed tree diagrams which embody analyses of two Batak Simple Sentences of median complexity: Diagram 6 illustrates a Simple Sentence of rather intricate structure in that five sentence margin tagmemes (Concessive, Conditional, preposed Purpose, and two postposed Purpose) occur within it; furthermore the last Purpose Margin embeds a Simple Sentence that contains a postposed Conditional Margin. Diagram 7 illustrates a Cause Margin expounded by a Relator-Axis Sentence whose Axis is expounded by a Simple Sentence which contains two preposed Conditional Margins and a postposed Cause Margin.


SiS
ConM
CdM
PM
PM
PM
RAS$_5$
RAS$_4$
RAS$_6$
RAS$_6$
RAS$_6$
Bs
Ax
SiS
CdM
Bs
RAS$_4$
re$_5$
Ax
re$_4$
Ax
re$_6$
Ax
re$_6$
Ax
re$_6$
re$_4$
Ax
even
there is radio
if
there is impor-tant news for us
so that
we will know the news here at our place then
you cause Audry to write and send to us
so that
we will know what is happen-ing there at your place
so that
we will not worry in our thoughts
if
there is a letter that will reach here

Maski may radio in may impurtanti kanamen ay para matawanan
even have radio if have important for us so that know

men tu manga barita situ kat imiu ay magpasulat kamu kay
we plural news here at ours then write you

Udri a ipapisi' kanamen para matawanan men tu tanan a
Audrey that send to us so that know we all that

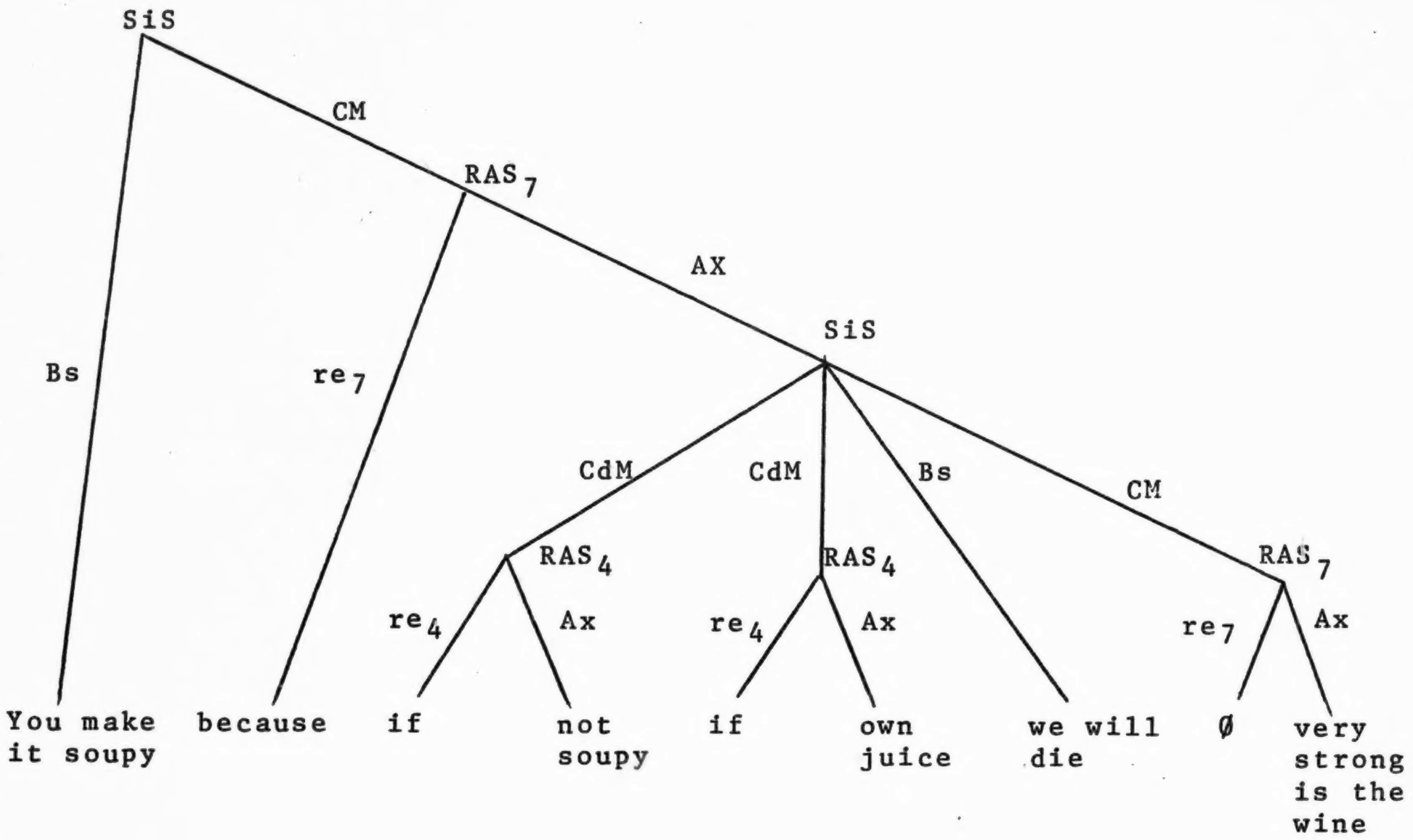
manga magkaymu situ kat imiu ay pa kami da' maka nagkalibeg
plural happening there at yours so that we not also worry

tu isip men in may sulat maka a magpakabut kat amen.
thoughts ours if have letter also that reach to us

'Even though you have a radio, if there is important news for us, so that we will know the news, you get Audrey to write a letter which she will send to us so that we will know of the happenings in your place so that we will not have worried minds if there is a letter that gets here to our place.'

BATAK SIMPLE SENTENCE WITH FIVE SENTENCE MARGINS

DIAGRAM 6


SiS
CM
RAS7
AX
SiS
Bs
re7
CdM
CdM
Bs
CM
RAS4
RAS4
RAS7
re4
Ax
re4
Ax
re7
Ax
You make it soupy
because
if
not soupy
if
own juice
we will die
Ø
very strong is the wine

Ipagsabaw	ay	in	da'gwa	sabawan	in	liing	ya	gwa
make soupy	because	if	not	soupy	if	juice	its	only

patay	ta	ma'iseg	a	masiadu	tu	tabad.
die	we	strong		very		wine

'You make it soupy because if you don't make it soupy and it has only its own juice then we will die because the wine is very strong.'

BATAK SIMPLE SENTENCE WITH EXTENSIVE RECURSION

IN THE CAUSE MARGIN

DIAGRAM 7

2.2 Coordinate, Antithetical and Alternative Sentences

2.2.1 The Coordinate Sentence

This sentence is a loose grammatical combination of clauses or embedded sentences with the following characteristics: (a) an open-ended structure, i.e. any number of Bases may be coordinated; and (b) lack of chronological orientation, i.e. whether the actions represented are successive or simultaneous, or whether chronology is irrelevant to the items conjoined, at any rate time is not focal. Ultimately the justification for coordinating two items is some connection that is plausible in the light of the linguistic and cultural context. Thus, one would have to know something of the surrounding story to understand why the following are conjoined in Aborlan Tagbanwa: "But here is my bottle of oil, put it there in your pocket and here is my stone you swallow it." Or the following Coordinate Sentence in Balangao: 'We cook and the fire won't blacken the pots.' To understand why the following are conjoined in an Ilianen Manobo sentence it would help to know a bit of the local culture: 'When the two chickens are set down one rice is sprinkled and one egg is tossed up.'

The coordinating conjunction varies greatly from language to language. Even in the Manobo dialects while wey or woy 'and' is found in Western Bukidnon Manobo, Ilianen Manobo, and Ata Manobo, aw 'and' occurs in Dibabawon Manobo, and daw 'and' in Binukid (Manobo). But aw 'and' also occurs in Kalagan and Mansaka. On other parts of Mindanao and on Luzon very different coordinators are found. Bontoc, Balangao, and Kalinga all have a coordinator ya (varying to yag in Balangao).

2.2.1.1 Subtypes and types

For Tagabili, Nancy Howison posits two coordinators: ne 'and' and dalang se 'also'. While several examples of three coordinated Bases occur with ne 'and', examples with the conjunction dalang se 'also' appear to be more specialized structures possibly with but two Bases. Nancy Howison states "When coordinate Link is expounded by dalang se 'also', Head 2 is expounded by a sentence with an initial Sentence Topic." She gives an example:

Lemwót kun namak tum líbun blayen yem logi, dalang se
leave her betel-nut thatgirl give-she that boy also
yem logi oguhen tum líbun tum kun namak.
that boy hand-he that girl that his betel-nut
'The girl's betel-nut, she gives to the boy, also the boy, he hands his betel-nut to the girl.' Furthermore, often the rest

of the sentence which expounds the second Base is deleted leaving only the Sentence Topic, as in 'I don't want to go on further, also Alun [doesn't want to go on further]'.

In Mansaka, Gordon Svelmoe separates into two sentence types constructions that are similar to the Tagabili sub-types which are described above. He sets up an order of Listing sentences that includes Coordinate Expansion and Coordinate Extension Sentences. The first type is what we have here termed the Coordinate Sentence. The second type has a more specialized and restricted structure which turns on the occurrence in sentence medial of asta 'including'/'and-also' or (na) asta pa 'also yet'. The clause-level tagmemes in the clause which precedes asta and the clause-level tagmemes in the clause which follows are arranged chiastically as Action$_1$ Goal$_1$ <asta> Goal$_2$ Action$_2$. Examples of this sentence type follow.

Na yang baaw, kay boyag, padaraan da kanaan yang
the lunch wife let-carry now him the
baaw, asta yang inmun sang kaparasko arag da dyara.
lunch and-also the wine one bottle also now carried
'Wife, the lunch, let him carry the lunch including one bottle of wine which (he is) also to carry now.'

Iwas mayo yang pasagan na sila, asta yang manga atay
slice you the roasted meat and-also the plural liver
obosa mayo iwaa.
all you slice
'Slice the roast including the liver, slice it too.'

Pasamansamani nang amo pispisa yang bobol nang
thoroughly the monkey pulled-out the feathers the
tollarabon na asta pa yang manga kosoy yabos naan.
(name of bird) including even the plural pin-feathers finished
'The monkey pulled out all of the feathers of the tollarabon including even the pin feathers which he completely removed.'

In Kalamian Tagbanwa one searches in vain for a Coordinate Sentence. Instead, a variety of specialized sentence patterns occur (note especially the Paraphrase and Parallel Sentences). What Edward Ruch terms a Coordinate Sentence is really more similar to the Tagabili dalang se subtype of the Coordinate Sentence. It is often, but not necessarily, chiastic in structure (cf. Mansaka above). The medial particle asta 'including', maski 'even', and pati 'including' are not assigned to sentence-level slots but are handled as a necessary feature of the string which expounds the non-initial sentence Base. Two examples follow:

Yaway pamlek yang mga kasangkapan asta kaldiru agiplek
you throw plural tools including kettle throw
mung minatay yang barutu a.
you dead you canoe you
'You're the one who throws away implements including the kettle you throw it away, you dead canoe you.'

Naa binusay-wusay na pa, pati kalima, kakay, gineret-geret
this slashed away he yet include hand feet cut-up
na....
he
'This one he slashed away at yet, including hands and feet, he cut them up lengthwise.'

In Batak no Coordinate Sentence type with a medial coordinating conjunction is found. While there is an asta 'until' construction, Rosemary Rodda analyzes this as expounding an Extent Margin tagmeme. One subtype of a Juxtaposed Sentence type is termed Coordinate by Rodda.

In Sangir, Kenneth Maryott does not label any of his eight sentence types "coordinate". He does, however, posit a Serial Sentence which he describes as follows:

> "The Serial Sentence type (Ser S) is characterized by a kind of union in which the major sentence elements weakly supplement each other. In the Ser S, a string-initial Head tagmeme is supplemented by the serial or list-like addition of one or more other Head tagmemes. An optional Series Marker tagmeme, which follows each Base tagmeme except the last, is expounded by connectives of the class <dingangu> [meaning such things as 'with' or 'and']. The optional Numerator tagmemes which precede each Head tagmeme, are expounded by ordinal numbers each of which corresponds to the sentence order of its respective function point."

The novel feature in the above analysis is the one described last. Note, however, that while items, such as 'first', 'secondly', and 'thirdly' may precede each sentence Base, this is not a chronological ordering--which has the specific contrasting structure of the Sangir Sequential Sentence--but a mere numbering of items in a list. Examples without such numbering of items are apparently more plentiful than those with it.

I sie kùkaéng dingangu mànginung.
he eating with drinking
'He is eating and drinking.'

Sahélo ini, ià humotong méngonsà, karuane mêdeà kalu, katélune
one-day this I first launder second fetch wood third
méméli boghasê.
buy rice
'Today, I will first, do the laundry; second, get firewood; and third, buy rice.'

2.2.1.2 The *Coordinate Sentence* in Inibaloi

Lee Ballard posits in Inibaloi a *Coordinate Sentence* on a somewhat different basis from those already described. While in other languages coordination is regarded as a loose connection of sentence *Bases*--involving actions which may actually be simultaneous, or in sequence, or elements to which chronological sequence is irrelevant--Ballard attempts to set up his sentence types so as to make them conform as much as possible to real world distinctions. Thus, he sets up a *Simultaneous Sentence* with an obligatory medial link *jey*; events encoded in this sentence type either occur in roughly the same time span or one event takes place within the span of the other. Ballard also posits an *Amplification Sentence* in which medial link *jet* or Ø occurs; in this sentence type the second *Base* gives additional information so that *jet* could be translated 'and furthermore'. For the *Coordinate* and *Sequential Sentences* Ballard posits in each type (a) a set of conjunctions which expound medial link; (b) a dominating or diagnostic conjunction which may replace any other and thus identify the sentence type as *Coordinate* or *Sequential*. The set of conjunctions which expound the *Coordinate Link* is: *tan* 'and', *jet*, *jey*, and Ø; the first is the diagnostic conjunction. For comparison, the set of conjunctions that expound *Sequential Link* is: *asan* 'and then', *tan* 'and', *jet*, *jey*, and Ø. Thus *tan*, *jet*, and *jey* are assumed to function in both sentence types. As we have seen *jet* and *jey* also occur in *Amplification* and *Simultaneous Sentences* respectively.

It is possible that such an analysis is unrealistic in that it attempts to deprive the speaker of his option of conceptualizing the same situation in alternative ways. Thus, granted the presence of *Coordinate*, *Sequential*, *Simultaneous*, and *Amplification Sentences* is it not likely that the speaker has a choice among several sentence types as conceptual frameworks even when referring to the same real world events? Thus, two events actually simultaneous (which would call for the Inibaloi conjunction *jey* were it to be encoded as a *Simultaneous Sentence*) might conceivably be encoded as a *Coordinate Sentence* (without emphasizing the simultaneity) or as an *Amplification Sentence* (which simply tacks the second matter on to the first). Similarly, need two events actually in chronological sequence be necessarily encoded as a *Sequential Sentence*? Could the speaker not choose to simply coordinate them (and use *tan*) or to even ignore the sequence and present them as events occurring in roughly the same time span (and thus use *jey*): or to represent the second event as an added bit of information (and thus use *jet*)? If so, then the sorting out of situations so that a preferred conjunction is indicated for each is simply an attempt to reduce skewing between grammatical encoding and real life situation to a minimum--perhaps an attempt to square the vagaries of grammatical encoding with lexical or logical realities of which the speaker is also aware.

Ballard's analysis is sufficiently distinctive that I follow with an extended quote from his paper and with more than the usual number of examples. All the examples quoted will be with the coordinator tan:

> "1. There are two sub-types of the Coordinate Sentence: Coordinate Sentence 1, in which tan expounds Link, and Coordinate Sentence 2, in which a conjunction other than tan, or 0, expounds Link.
> 2. All Coordinate Sentences 2 can be transformed to Coordinate Sentences 1. The possibility of such a transform is necessary for inclusion as a Coordinate Sentence.
> 3. If tan expounds Link, there is often parallelism.
> 4. If jey expounds Link, the Bases are limited to descriptives."

Jet	amengemas	i	eshom	tan	amantoned	i	eshom.
and	weeding		some	and	planting		some

'And some were weeding, and some were planting.'

Jet	sota	pingkan	ja	panganan	sha,	balitok,	tan	balitok	i	damisaan.
and	the	plate		eat-on	they	gold	and	gold		table

'And the plates they ate on were gold, and the table was gold.'

Enshi	kalsara	da'd	ma	Balaban	nontan	da	tan	shakel	i	shanom.
no	road	at		Balaban	then		and	much		water

'There was no road at Balaban long ago, and the river was high.'

No	ngaaw	i	apko,	masinekit	ira	tan	ag	ira	onbaknang.
if	bad		gall-bladder	sickly	they	and	not	they	become-rich

'If the gall bladder is poorly positioned, they will be sickly and they won't get rich.'

Note, however, the following Sequential Sentences (according to Ballard) which also contain tan. The nagging question remains: Regardless of the fact that the real world events are actually in chronological sequence, can not the use of tan indicate that the speaker has simply chosen to conjoin them in a Coordinate Sentence?

Say	mapteng,	on-akad	kayo	nin,	tan	no	kabasan,	daw	kayo	di.
	good	go-home	you	first	and		tomorrow	go	you	here

'What is good, you all go home for now, and tomorrow, come back here.'

Intorok	*sha*	*ja*	*shaka*	*iono*,	*tan*	*shaka*	*itayaw*	*mowan*
strung	them		they	necklace	and	they	dance-with	again

shi	*bindian*.
in	a dance

'They strung (the coins) into necklaces and they danced with them in the *bindian* dance.'

2.2.2 The *Antithetical Sentence*

The *Antithetical Sentence* consists of two opposed bases, a *Thesis* and an *Antithesis* linked by an *Adversative* particle or particle complex. A set of several particles may expound *Adversative* in some languages. While in some cases the choice of one adversative particle versus another does not correlate with distributional restrictions governing the exponents of *Thesis* and *Antithesis*, in other cases the choice of particle does correlate with such distributional restrictions. In the latter, subtypes must be posited within the *Antithetical Sentence* types--or even distinct types.

The opposed bases of an *Antithetical Sentence* may turn on the use of a negative in one *Base* but not in the other; on a pair of antonyms ('sweet, sour'; 'hot, cold'; 'black, white'); on a pair of pseudo-antonyms (e.g. 'man, woman'); or on a more diffuse, culturally appropriate opposition. Thus in one subtype in Siocon Subanon (with *bigdià non* 'but') no antonyms seem to occur but rather more diffuse oppositions such as: 'The news was that this daughter of the sultan was good looking but that she didn't have a mother'. 'He gave all his wealth but didn't help transport it'. 'That one fellow was newly married but he did not get his food (make a decent living).' 'It was round like a ball but it was gold.'

In Tagabili, Nancy Howison mentions a subtype of *Antithetical Sentence* which resembles some of the *Thought Quotation* or *Mistaken Thought Quotation Sentences* mentioned under 2.6.6. 'We (mistakenly) thought that it wasn't far but it was a long way downhill.' This subtype of *Antithetical Sentence* here and in other languages apparently embeds a variety of *Quotational Sentence* in its *Thesis*.

Donald Murray reports for Kalagan that while *Antithetical Sentences* usually contain the *Adversative manang* 'but', they contain *na* 'but' when there is a balancing of adjectives (true or ad hoc antonyms) in the *Thesis* and *Antithesis* as in 'Beautiful is the basket which you have made for me, Mam; but (*na*) big enough is this one for me.'

More important, however is the role of negative-positive contrasts in setting up subtypes and/or types of Antithetical Sentences. I discuss here both subtypes and types determined by this feature. Some inconsistency of analysis in positing subtypes versus full types occurs from language to language as well as some structural differences which justify in certain cases the alternative analyses.

2.2.2.1 Types based on occurrence of negatives

In Agta, Roy Mayfield distinguishes from the Antithetical Sentence an Inversion Sentence. The latter, a more specialized structure than the former, contains only a negative clause in its Thesis and a positive clause in its Antithesis; has te 'because', 'instead', 'rather' as exponent of Adversative (rather than ammi 'but' in the Antithetical); and has the same subject referents in both Thesis and Antithesis. Furthermore, the Inversion Sentence does not have Bases expounded by sentences (as does the Antithetical) but only by clauses. Here there can be little doubt that we deal with separate sentence types. Note the following examples:

Agta Antithetical Sentence

Enna	kami	pinagkafe	ammi	ya	kafe	en	awān	haman
go-he	we(exclusive)	coffeed	but		coffee	(the)	none	(emphasis)

ta	asukah	na.
	sugar	it

'He came and served us coffee but eh coffee, it didn't have any sugar!'

Sangaw	umange	kid	ta	wah	ammi	en	na	linikbagān	na	atawa
later	went	they		creek	but	go	he	muddied		spouse

na	dama	da	en.
	father	they	(the)

'Later they went to the creek but their mother had gone and muddied it up.'

Agta Inversion Sentence

Bakkan	ta	baka	yana	te	anwāng.
not		cow	that	because	carabao

'That's not a cow but a carabao.'

Awena	masi	na	abbing	en	te	matolay.
not-he	die		child	(the)	because	alive

'The child won't die but live.'

This distinction just exemplified in Agta is found in several other languages: (1) In Balangao, Adversative is expounded by ngém 'but' in the Antithetical Sentence and by te 'because' in the Inversion Sentence; in the latter the te is optional and there are restrictions on tense sequence. Examples follow:

Baén pokkawan hen andi luwang te ngétégan.
negative white the that carabao link black

'That carabao isn't white, it's black.'

Adida homepot, andag mantongaw hen yadi way
negative-they work they stay-home the that attributive

ag-agaw.
day

'They don't go to the fields; they stay home that day.'

(2) In Aborlan Tagbanwa, Adversative is expounded regularly by taka 'but' in the Antithetical Sentence but by ka 'because' in the Inversion Sentence, as in:

Engga mag-ampang ka mapagneg.
negative speak because listen

'He does not speak but listens.'

(3) In Kalamian Tagbanwa, Adversative is expounded by piru 'but' in the Antithetical Sentence but by a set of four particle complexes (kung + indi/belan; ang + indi/belag) meaning 'if not' 'instead/rather' in the Polar Sentence. A further feature of the latter is that the Thesis may be expounded not only by a negative but also by an interrogative clause. These varying examples of Thesis (called by Edward Ruch Negative Pole in opposition to the Positive Pole) are seen in the following.

Ay wa mamangan nita taa tung tanek ang
Neg P: Why eat we(inclusive)here on ground Adv:if

indi tumakwal lita tung balay.
not Pos P: climb we(inclusive)to house

'Why should we eat here on the ground? rather let's go up into the house.'

Indi ita magelat ang ita pakdulan yang gubirnu para
Neg P: negative we wait we be-given gov't concerning

tung pangabui ta and indi ita magprusigir.
livelihood our Adv:rather Pos P: we be-diligent

'Let's not wait for the government to give us our livelihood, but, on the contrary, we'll be the ones to be diligent.'

(4) In Itneg, while *ngem*, *nem*, and *anem* expound the obligatory *Adversative* in the *Antithetical Sentence*, the first two particles also expound the optional *Adversative* in the *Inversion Sentence*. While in the *Antithetical Sentence* positive-positive, positive-negative, and negative-positive values may characterize *Thesis* and *Antithesis* respectively, the structure of the *Inversion Sentence*, although also negative-positive is more specialized. Its *Thesis* (termed *Negative Base* by Janice Walton) must be expounded by a clause whose predicate is non-verbal and contains the negative word *beken* 'not so'. Furthermore, the structures of the *Thesis* and *Antithesis* (*Negative* and *Positive Bases*) are sufficiently distinct that the two may permute without ambiguity. Note the following two examples.

Bekena	*nangitit*,	*polaw*.
not	black	white

'It's not black, it's white.'

Anem	*nalidayen*,	*bekena*	*nalagsaken*.
but	sad	not	happy

'But she was sad, she was not happy.'

(5) In Kalagan, while the usual exponent of *Adversative* is (*na*) *manang* 'but', in the *Antithetical Negative Sentence*, no *Adversative* is found. In the latter there is a sentence-initial negative *beke*' 'it's not true that....'/'no' as in the following:

Beke'	*si*	*Ulian*	*adti*	*bitay*	*adun*,	*niadtu*	*i*	*kan*	*Gili*.
not true		Ulian	at	uphill	now	went		to	Gili's

'No, Ulian isn't up the hill now [at his house], but he went to Gili's.'

The resemblance of this structure to the Itneg *Inversion Sentence* is rather marked.

Gordon Svelmoe, in Mansaka, sets up an *Antithetical Negative Contrast Sentence* which has a more specialized structure than the *Antithetical Sentence* in that the former has: (a) no medial *Adversative*; and (b) a positive *Thesis* (*Positive Statement*) and a negative *Antithesis* (*Negative Statement*). As in most antithetical structures with a negative *Antithesis*, so in Mansaka, there is considerable deletion in the exponent of negative *Antithesis*. The Mansaka sentence type here especially invites deletion in that it is of very specialized structure; the negative *Antithesis* is a negative reduplication of the *Thesis*. Note the following examples:

Aon	*makagamit*	*sang*	*Binsaya*,	*aon*	*wara*.
there-is	can-use	the	Visayan	there-is	cannot

'There are those who can speak Visayan; there are those who can't.'

Tunang	*mokorang*	*yaan*	*asang*	*baray*	*nang*	*ama*,	*tunang*	*dili*.
sometimes	will-sleep	he	in-the	house	the	father	sometimes	will-not

'Sometimes he will sleep in his father's house, sometimes he will not.'

While such a sentence type is not posited in the closely related Kalagan, Donald Murray does describe what appears to be a similar structure as a subtype of the *Antithetical Sentence*. In this subtype, no *Adversative* need occur and a negative clause expounds *Antithesis*. Apparently, however, the negative clause need not be a negative reduplication of the *Thesis*. Nevertheless, the possibility might be explored that a further sentence type is indicated.

2.2.2.2 Subtypes based on negatives and other features

In several languages subtypes of the *Antithetical Sentence* are posited on the basis of occurrence of negatives. In describing these subtypes, I mention also any other features that are considered relevant to subtypes of the *Antithetical Sentence*.

Both in Botolan Sambal and in Western Bukidnon Manobo there occur clearly distinct subtypes of the *Antithetical Sentence*. The subtype described in each language corresponds to the structure of the *Inversion Sentence* (whatever its label) described above for Agta and other languages. In Botolan Sambal, *Adversative* in the first subtype of *Antithetical Sentence* is expounded by *piro* or *bale' ta* 'but'; the exponents of *Thesis* and *Antithesis* are varied in structure with varying placements of the negative. In the second subtype, the *Adversative* is expounded by *no alwa* 'but rather', while *Thesis* is negative and *Antithesis* is positive. In Western Bukidnon Manobo similar subtypes are posited: (a) with *iyan* 'but', *piru* 'but' and *asal* 'however' as exponents of *Adversative* and little restrictoon on the structures expounding *Thesis* and *Antithesis*; (b) with *kekenè* 'but rather' as exponent of *Adversative*, a negative *Thesis*, and a positive *Antithesis*. A comparison of these subtypes with the contrasting antithetical sentence types posited in Agta and other languages argues that the same analytical criteria have not been applied in establishing sentence types in these languages.[14]

In Siocon Subanon, William Hall posits four subtypes of the *Antithetical Sentence*: (1) *Adversative* expounded by *tibua* 'but' and with no restriction on the occurrence of negatives (with even an apparent example of the rare pattern negative-negative); (2) With *Adversative* expounded by *saka* 'but'; and with positive-positive, negative-positive, and positive-negative sequence; (3) With *Adversative* expounded by *(l)ual* 'but', a negative *Thesis* and a positive *Antithesis*; the *(l)ual* often combines with the preceding negative along with considerable deletion within the negative *Thesis*. (4) With *Adversative* expounded by *bigdià non* 'but', with frequent occurrence of a negative in the *Antithesis* and with a somewhat oblique sort of opposition (see the beginning of 2.2.1). In evaluating this grouping of the four subtypes as one sentence type, I note that (a) the cleavage between the first two is not very marked. At best the sequence negative-negative is rare and suspect (see the end of this section); yet aside from its occurrence with *tibua* 'but' and not with *saka* 'but' little distinction is found between the two subtypes except the differing exponents of *Adversative*. (b) Subtype (3) is the most distinct of the four; furthermore it resembles the *Inversion Sentence* (or its equivalent) posited in several languages. Subtype (4) has interesting semantic properties in that a direct *Antithesis* (by means of negating in one *Base* an element of the other *Base*; or by means of antonyms) does not apparently occur. In brief, if any of these Siocon Subanon subtypes are to be elevated to the status of full sentence types probably only (3) need be thus separated from the others. One example each of the four subtypes follows:

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[14] A strict application of my more-than-one-structural-difference requirement for separating syntagmemes would result in making all these subtypes separate sentence types. Resort to consideration of external distribution would probably not turn up any good reason for joining these syntagmemes as subtypes of the same sentence type in that probably the occurrence of one syntagmeme versus the other is not conditioned by their occurrence in distinct paragraph level slots. Probably considerations of the symmetry of the resulting system have influenced the differing analyses in Botolan Sambal and Western Bukidnon Manobo versus Agta and other languages.

Subtype (1)

Len	binianan	non	tibua	mogdolagan	ilan	da.
another	way	his	but	neck-and-neck	they	marker

'His was another path but they were neck-and-neck (just the same).

Subtype (2)

Gondow	gondow	ompanow	saka	ondì	obutan.
day	day	walk	but	not	catch (pigs)

'Everyday (he) went but (he) didn't catch any pigs.'

Subtype (3)

Dà	lual	da	ini	ok	paloy	nilan.
no	other	marker	here		rice	their

'There's nothing else here, just their rice.'

Subtype (4)

Sunan	ko	dun	binuni	nika	bigdià	non	potiang	o	na.
know	I	it	hid	you	but		never mind	I	now

'I know it that you hid (it) but I'll never mind now.'

In Inibaloi, Lee Ballard considers that an Antithetical Sentence may have Adversative expounded by either nem (ag) 'but' or jey 'but'; or may have no Adversative. He states, however, "In order for a sentence with jey or ∅ as exponent of Link[=Adversative] to be Antithetical, a transform to nem as an exponent must be the preferred transform." He posits three subtypes (1) With Adversative expounded by nem, jey, or ∅; with an affirmative Thesis, and with an explicit or implicit negation in the Antithesis. (2) With Adversative expounded by nem (ag) or jey; with a negative Thesis and with an affirmative Antithesis; and (3) With the same exponents of Adversative but "the Thesis is expounded by a negative Existential Clause, and the Antithesis, by a clause that is elided, leaving only the exception to the Thesis; the meaning is 'none...except...'" If these subtypes were to be reconsidered as possible sentence types, it appears that (1) would be the most likely candidate for full sentence status, while (2) and (3) might remain combined as subtypes. Two examples of each of these subtypes follow.

Subtype (1)

Kinedked	ko'y	bokdew	ko	nem	akak	atey.
cut	I	throat	my	but	not-I	die

'I cut my throat, but I didn't die.'

Iyay:	adoto	i	inepoy;	aneng	iya	aapag.
here	cooked	the	rice	not-yet	the	meat

'Here, the rice is cooked (but) the meat is not done yet.'

Subtype (2) Ag to sinongbatan ni tingey, nem inkapo (to)
not he answered the frog but began (he)

et i ngi-ngi.
instead laugh

'The frog didn't answer him but instead he began to laugh.'

Ag to kono ininat sotan na animal, jey songpit kono'y
not he hearsay lead those animals but whistle hearsay

timawal son si-kara.
summoned them

'He didn't lead those animals with ropes, but (his) whistle was what called them.'

Subtype (3) Enshi ma'y an on-esel kono jey si Fianza da.
none go to speak hearsay but Fianza

'No one spoke up except Fianza.'

Satan--kasto--aliw̃a'n mekowan ey dagbo, aliw̃a'n mekowan ey
that expense not say wages not say

molta, nem ag pangaasi sha ira nonta too...
fine but pity their them the people

'as for the expenses, it shouldn't be called wages, it shouldn't be called a fine, but simply [an expression of] their pity on those people...'

Ballard also footnotes that some lexical antitheses are encoded as nucleus plus Cause Margin as in:

Akak inew̃at tep kowan ko ey mandikat ali tan.
not-I receive because say I bring-difficulty here that

'I didn't take it because (but rather) I said "That will only bring difficulty to us".'

It is evident here that a structure involving 'because' and quite parallel to the Inversion Sentence in Agta, Balangao, Aborlan Tagbanwa, is here analyzed as a nucleus-margin string. Furthermore, if we are to judge by the two examples Ballard gives of this string, there is a negative-positive sequence in the two parts of the sentence which bracket tep 'because'--just as in the Inversion Sentence. It is possible, therefore, that such a sentence type should also be posited in Inibaloi. On the other hand, the fact that both Ballard's subtypes (2) and (3) express negative-positive sequences may indicate an implicit contrast between these nuclear patterns and lexical antithesis encoded as nucleus plus Cause Margin.

One thing curiously lacking in the extensive data that Ballard presents is an Antithetical Sentence with positive-positive sequence; he feels that all apparent instances of such sequences contain an ellipsis of the negative element, as in the following: 'They released them, but the Palatang people they tied them all up (=didn't release them).' Possibly Ballard has here formulated a semantic feature of all Antithetical Sentences, viz. there is an implicit or explicit negative in either the Thesis or the Antithesis of all such sentences. Therefore, such an assumed negative-negative sequence as is seen in the following Siocon Subanon example needs to be examined carefully: '"I don't know," he said, (they say), "how much he will pay, but it won't indeed be given".' Here, there is really a blend of two antitheses, viz. (a) 'I don't know...but [I do know that]...; and (b) 'he'll have to pay [something]; it won't be given'. It seems possible that any such apparent negative-negative sequences are similarly complex. At any rate, we would scarcely expect to find sequences of negative-negative in Antithetical Sentences in which the two negatives negate corresponding elements.[15]

In Balangao, there is a subtype of the Antithetical Sentence in which not ngém 'but' occurs (as described above) but rather ya/yag 'and'. This is the same particle that expounds Link in the Coordinate Sentence. It might therefore, be argued that putative Antithetical Sentences with ya/yag 'and' are simply lexical antitheses encoded as Coordinate Sentences. This is probably, however, incorrect in that the posited ya/yag variant of the Antithetical Sentence is restricted to a positive Thesis and a negative Antithesis as in:

Wadan	putwilas	yag	maid	tapolyu.
is	beans	and	none	cabbages

'There is beans but no cabbages.'

Accepting such sentences as valid Antithetical Sentences means that Balangao sentences with (overtly) positive-positive, negative-positive, and positive-negative sequence in Thesis and Antithesis, are encoded as follows (with recapitulation of information about the Balangao Inversion Sentence):

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[15] Cf. also the English example: 'It isn't cold but it isn't hot either.' Here, although both clauses contain 'not', one contains 'cold' and the other 'hot'. In that 'cold' is lexically equivalent to 'not hot' we have a covert negative present in the Thesis but not present in the Antithesis. Thus:

'It	isn't	cold,	but it	isn't	hot	either.'
	-	-		-	+	

Thesis	Adv.	Antithesis
+	ngém 'but'	+
+	ngém 'but' ya(g) 'and'	-
-	te 'because'	+

Joanne Shetler states that the negative-positive sequence may also encode with ngém but her only example of this involves a concessive clause ('although they won't obey') as putative exponent of Thesis. If only such exponents as this expound a negative Thesis with ngém then some other analysis might well be considered other than one which makes such sentences examples of Antithetical Sentences.

2.2.2.3 Further types

Lee Ballard also posits a Surprise Sentence for Inibaloi which contains a medial strong Adversative expounded by ngaran ni '(but) what do you know'. He calls Base 1 Intent and Base 2 Surprise. Thus, 'His intent was to dig where (the workers) were digging; what do you know his digging tool struck a pine knot'. 'I went to light my torch, but what do you know, it was different; it was a botatew spirit.'

In Balangao and Bontoc a Diverse Sentence is posited. In both languages the medial particle is distinctive; en 'but' in Balangao Diverse Sentence (versus ngém 'but' and ya/yag 'and' in the Antithetical); en in Bontoc (versus ngém in the Antithetical). As Lawrence Reid explains it:

> "The Diverse Sentence presents two statements in opposition, one apparent, one real, linked by en. The Base containing the apparent statement is expounded by either an Equational Clause, in which the first terminal is manifested by one of a small class of words meaning 'likeness': kaneg, kaman, etc. or by a Thought Sentence which usually expresses a mistaken thought or opinion."

Reid follows with a detailed set of cooccurrence rules applicable to this sentence type.

Kaneg	baken	ipogaw	en	ipogaw	met.
like	not	person	link	person	sure

'It was not like a person, but it really was.'

Kanak	mo	sik-a	en	bakenka.
thought-I	link	you	link	not-you

'I thought it was you but it wasn't.'

In Aborlan Tagbanwa, Stewart Hussey posits a Contrary to Expectation Sentence that appears to be possibly a further development of Antithetical Sentence. It preposes the particles imbis nga 'instead of' to the first Base of the sentence; reduces the second Base to a negative word and incorporates a Cause Margin (See Sec. 2.4.4) into the nucleus.

Imbis	nga	akuy	makapisi,	ega	ka	napisi	nat	beken.
instead	ligature	I	able get	negative	because	got		other

'Instead of my being able to get it (I could)n't because another got it.'

Imbis	nga	maka-uli	aku	ega	ka	simyarut.
instead	ligature	able return	I	negative	because	sick

'Instead of my being able to return home, (I could)n't because I was sick.'

Imbis	nga	mabayadan	mu	i	kasala-an	mu	ega	ka	mialagyu	ka.
instead	ligature	pay fine	you		sin	your	negative	because	ran	you

'Instead of you paying your fine, (you did)n't because you ran away.'

2.2.3 The Alternation Sentence

Alternation Sentence likewise opposes two ideas but offers them as choices. Often the lexically opposed items by reason of the law of the excluded middle do not permit more than two bases. This is true when (a) the second alternative is a negation of the first; (b) when the alternatives are antonyms; or (c) when cultural, situational, or linguistic context treats the alternatives as being the only two possibilities. On the other hand the alternation need not be disjunctive (i.e. the 'or' may be an 'and/or'); nor need it exclude further terms--in which case more than two bases, encoding more than two alternatives may occur as well.

The minimal *Alternation Sentence* contains three parts which have been variously labelled but which we here term: *Alternative 1*, *Pivot*, and *Alternative 2*. The two *Alternative* tagmemes are the *Bases* of the sentence. The interposed *Pivot* is expounded by a word which means 'or'. With proper lexical conditions, viz. with lexical items that do not exclude a third or further terms, the *Alternation Sentence* may be expanded by addition of further *Pivots* and further *Bases*.

The particle expounding *Pivot* varies from language to language. On northern Luzon, where Agta and Botolan Sambal use the Spanish loan *o* 'or', several other languages have *ono* (Balangao, Inibaloi), *onu* (Atta Negrito) or *onno* 'or'.[16] In Itneg, Balangao, and Bontoc a form *wenno*/*winno* 'or' is found as is also a further word *paymo* 'or' grading off into 'moreover/however'. On Mindanao, Sulu, and Palawan there is even greater variety of 'or' words: (1) In Tausug *atawa*; in Ilianen Manobo *etawa*; and in Siocon Subanon *atawaka* and *bung*. (2) In Dibabawon Manobo *dow*, and in Binukid (Manobo) and Mansaka *daw*. (3) In Mansaka *aw* (between nouns with rest of clause deleted) and *liwan* 'exchange' (elsewhere). (4) In Sangir *arau*. (5) In Maranao *o di na*. Other languages employ a conditional particle 'if' or juxtaposed conditional *Relator-Axis Sentences* Western Bukidnon Manobo, Ata Manobo, Tagabili, Aborlan Tagbanwa, Kalamian Tagbanwa, and Batak. In Western Bukidnon Manobo *wey* 'and' and in Ata Manobo *woy* 'and' occur sometimes between 'if' *Relator-Axis Sentences* with much the meaning of 'or'. In Kalamian Tagbanwa the Spanish loan *u* similarly occurs. In Batak an *Alternation Sentence* need have no *Pivot* expressed.

In many of the languages *Alternation Sentences* are rare. Thus, Jannette Forster reports for Dibabawon Manobo that she has found only two examples of *Alternation Sentences* in 100,000 words of text material. Harriet Minot likewise reports that this sentence type is so rare in Botolan Sambal that most of her examples are elicited or from translated materials. Seymour and Lous Ashley write: "This sentence type is of infrequent occurrence as evidenced by the fact that the Tausug Concordance lists only ten instances of the alternative marker. By way of contrast the concordance lists three hundred instances of the coordinate marker." While these remarks are indicative that the *Alternation Sentence* is probably not a frequently occurring sentence type in any language, nevertheless enough instances of it occur in most languages to establish well its structure and function.

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[16] It is possible that these forms are from the Spanish loan *ó no* 'or not' (with a misappropriation of the 'or' plus negative as exponent of *Pivot*). On the other hand, the form *wenno* 'or' which occurs in several adjacent languages may be a cognate which indicates that *ono* is an inherited item. Both forms occur in Balangao where possibly a loan has come to compete with an inherited item.

2.2.3.1 Disjunctive *Alternation* *Sentences*

The following examples of minimal *Alternation* *Sentences* are clearly limited to two *Bases* by the law of the excluded middle. In all these sentences except the last, in that the second *Base* is negative, most of the second *Base* is deleted leaving only the negative.

(Agta)	Ittā	āgta	ta	iten	o	awān.
	there is	Agtas		there	or	not

'Are there Agtas there or not?'

(Inibaloi)	Jet	mengidik	ka	di	ono	ayshi?
	and	have-thresh	you	here	or	not

'And will you thresh the rice here or not?'

(Bontoc)	Ay	omalida	winno	adi?
	question	come-they	or	not

'Are they coming or not?'

(Tausug)	Magtuntut	sila	atawa	di'.
	lodge-complaint	they	or	not

'Will they lodge a complaint or not?'

(Kalinga)	No	mamingsan	on	labi	mangala-da	si	lima	onno
	if	one-time		night	get-they		five	or

dowa-m	pulu	onno	odumna	ad	naid	pon	alan-da.
two	unit-of-ten	or	sometimes		none		get-they

'In one night they would get five or twenty or sometimes they got nothing.'

Notice, in the above, that all but the last example are questions and show the typical radical deletion of the second *Base*. The last example is a statement with a negative second *Base* that has not undergone deletion. On the other hand all the examples that Gieser gives of Kalinga *Alternation* *Sentences* involve undeleted structures in both *Bases*; this may be a peculiarity of Kalinga.

In the following examples although the second clause does not negate the first, antonyms are employed to form an exclusive alternative:

(Atta Negrito)

Mabayák	gala	má	ange	na	saw	onu	mabí	má?
long-time	again	coming		his	here	or	soon	again

'Will he be a long time coming again or will he come again soon?'

(Itneg)

Piit,	mapan	ka	di	Patok	wenno	mabati	ka	dito?
Piit,	go	you	to	Patok	or	stay	you	here

'Piit, are you going to Patok or are you going to stay here?'

(Batak, without any pivot tagmeme)

Sabi'	maka	kat	ta'eb	alawiid?
close	also	to	sea	far

'Is it near the sea [or] far away?'

(Koronadal Bilaan)

Mlahil	gambet	talu	Tabali	ku	demen	mlimah?
easy	study	language	Tagabili		or	hard

'Is it easy to learn Tagabili or hard?'

The above examples turn on the antonyms 'long time' versus 'soon'; 'go' versus 'stay'; 'near' versus 'far' and 'easy' versus 'hard'. In most examples the second Base has suffered radical deletion with only the antonym remaining. In the second example, however, where the opposition is not simply between 'go' and 'stay' but 'go to Patok' versus 'stay here', the second Base has not suffered deletion.

Examples follow in which the discourse and its situational context posit only two alternatives (assuming an excluded middle) but where antonyms as such are not employed:

(Bontoc)

Adi	pay	as	maigabotan	nan	atep	paymo
negative	moreover	future	thatched	the	roof	or

as	insisim.
future	galvanized-iron-covered

'Then the roof will be thatched, or it will be covered with galvanized iron.'

(Ilianen Manobo)

Edlevundus	ki	en	etawa	ed-eles	ki	pa'.
proceed	we	now	or	hide	we	yet

'Will we proceed now or will we hide yet?'

(Itneg)

Abaken	na	dat	anak	tayo,	wenno	ditay	ket	sit
defeat	she	those	children	ours	or	we	and	the

inmangpatay.
go-to-kill

'She'll defeat those children of ours or we'll go to kill her.'

Notice that in the preceding examples, deletion does not occur in that the semantic opposition does not turn on a pair of opposed words but on lexical oppositions which are expressed in whole clauses.

Non-minimal but disjunctive *Alternation Sentences* also occur. Thus, in the following Inibaloi example three disjunctive courses of action are indicated.

No	memintedo	ja	sepnakan	sha	bebtikan	sha	sota	baley
if	three-times		feast-for	they	run-away-from	they	the	house

ono	a-tanen	sha,	ono	idako	sha	sotan	na	baley	jet	mandeka
or	move	they	or	sell	they	that		house	and	make

ira	mowan	ni	sakey	ja	bado.
they	again		one		new

'If they celebrate *sepnok* three times (for a house), they run away from the house, or they move it, or they sell the house and build another one.'

2.2.3.2 Nondisjunctive *Alternation Sentences*

There are further examples in which the 'or' is probably not meant to be disjunctive. In the following examples I give only English translations:
(Balangao) '[That's a good marriage because] it doesn't indicate something like sickness of the children when they have children or [it means] they will have a good family life.'
(Tausug, *Alternation Sentence* embedded in *Conditional Margin*) 'If he had said that he wanted Mother or also Mother had said that she wanted to marry [I would not be angry].
Note the following Inibaloi example where three non-disjunctive alternatives are given: 'When they see a person who is ill-behaved, they don't give him advice, or they scold him with harsh words, or they (even) hate such an arrogant person.'

In no Philippine language is there any regular grammatical way to indicate disjunctive from non-exclusive alternatives. In Inibaloi in particular Lee Ballard cites in a footnote examples like the following, saying "Not all sentences with *ono* expounding link are alternative. Especially in oratory, it is common to paraphrase, linking synonyms with *ono*." Translations of his two examples follow: 'Therefore all the relatives of the dead one, they are making contributions *ono* they are offering, *ono* they are giving at the house of the dead one...' 'and if that is one thing that will help our standard of living, so that things will get better, ono (people) will get rich, ono our standard of living will improve here, that is one important thing.' Are these examples, in spite of their lexical divergence to be called Alternation Sentences? In answering this question affirmatively we note the progression in Inibaloi Alternation Sentences from (a) disjunctive alternatives to (b) non-disjunctive alternatives, to (c) paraphrase via synonym. Paraphrase usually is encoded as a Paraphrase Sentence; its encoding as an Alternation Sentence in oratory is an example of a certain skewing between lexical and grammatical structures.

2.2.3.3 Further Alternation Sentences

An example has been given above of an Alternation Sentence embedded in a Conditional Margin in Tausug. In that example, 'or' occurred medially and the initial 'if' was not repeated. Repetition of the 'if' may, however, occur when the Alternation Sentence is embedded in a Conditional Margin. Thus, there is a Sangir example: 'If we have punished a person or if we have reported a person...' In Aborlan Tagbanwa, where no Pivot tagmeme occurs but each base is preceded by 'if', an independent Alternation Sentence and one embedded in a Conditional Margin have identical structures: 'If my husband questions you if whatever he does, you say "I don't know anything about it".' = 'If my husband questions you or if he does anything whatsoever, you just say...' 'If (when) near to the house he sharpens a small stick if he wraps up in a leaf some human feces' = 'Either when near to the house he sharpens a small stick or he wraps up in a leaf some human feces.'

Alternation Sentences with an optional preposed formula-like element are posited specifically in Siocon Subanon and in Batak. Data from a few other languages also indicate the occurrence of this element. The preposed Formula is a question involving a verb or noun which is then understood but unstated with the following partially deleted Bases separated by 'or'.

(Koronadal Bilaan)	Dét	i	knaye-am,	do	gatù	demen	ku	ge	gatù?
	what		wish-your	I	go	or	you		go

'What do you want, for me to go or for you to go?'

(Ata Manobo)	Nokoy	gustu	nu,	untud	ki	to	adiplanu,	ko
	what	desire	your	ride	we	an	airplane	if

ug-untud	ki	to	buus?
ride	we	a	bus

'What do you want? shall we ride an airplane or a bus?'

(Siocon Subanon)	Sima	dinumag	ika	ta	bug	akon	ta?
	who	won	you	question	or	I	question

'Who won, you or I?'

(Batak)	Unay	pagkeliagan	mu	in	ke'deng	in	kuding?
	which	want	you	if	dog	if	cat

'Which do you want, a dog or a cat?'

There are some languages (Mansaka, Kalamian Tagbanwa) where alternation is expressed only in an Indirect Question, and other languages (Western Bukidnon Manobo, Binukid (Manobo), Tagabili) where an Indirect Quotation Formula is so common in such sentences that it is set up as a nuclear although optional tagmeme. In either case, the Alternation Sentence and the Indirect Question coalesce. Such structures are described under Indirect Question (Sec. 2.6.4).

2.3 Sentence types that are derived from paragraph structures[17]

While the sentence types previously described (along with some Quotation Sentences, Sec. 2.6) are considered to be primitives on the sentence level, I here describe some further types in which what would otherwise be sentence sequences within the nuclei of the various paragraph types are encoded as single sentences. This is not merely a phonological vagary of the speaker nor is it merely "surface" structure (in a depreciatory sense). It reflects rather the option of the speaker to group and combine items as part of his conceptualizing activity. By grouping some items within the same sentence and stringing others out in separate sentences the speaker is able to associate some items more intimately than others, highlight, suppress, shade, and emphasize to the limit of his stylistic capacity.

The following presentation assumes that the reader is familiar with the structure of the nuclei of various paragraph types as described in Vol. I Part 2. Exponents of almost any two (and sometimes more) consecutive tagmemes of the paragraph nucleus may be alternatively encoded as a single sentence. Some of the sentences derived in this fashion have, however, special restrictions which make possible transformation of some consecutive sentences into one sentence but do not permit this in the case of other sequences.

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[17] I am indebted to Edward Ruch for this insight. Under Paraphrase Sentence in his paper he says, "A paraphrase sentence expresses the same thing in two ways and is the sentence level counterpart of a TEXT-EXPO sequence on the paragraph level." Under this sentence type and others Ruch specifically footnotes examples of paragraph structures which are parallel to sentence structures.

2.3.1 *Sequence Sentences*

In most languages a *Sequence Sentence* is posited. What could be encoded as two or more sentences expounding successive BUILD-UP tagmemes within a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH or successive STEP tagmemes within a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH can alternatively be encoded as one *Sequence Sentence*. Furthermore, recapitulatory links via *Time Margins* may even on occasion be present in the embedded sentences which expound non-initial *Bases*. Such sentences conform to the same internal chronological requirement as do the nuclei of NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS. Embedded sentences or clauses which expound *Bases* of the *Sequence Sentence* cannot permute--since the linear ordering corresponds to the chronological order. Just as such *Sentence Introducers* as 'and then' are common in the sentences of the nuclei of NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS, so some sort of overt *Sequence Marker* typically occurs between the *Antecedent* and *Consequent* bases of a *Sequence Sentence*.

2.3.1.1 *Sequence Sentences* in various languages

In the following two Sangir examples the first example is narrative and the second procedural; the *Sequence Marker* is kù 'next', 'subsequently', 'then':

I sie	*nêbuà*	*kù*	*dimaleng*.
he	arose	next	went

'He got up and left.'

Tangu,	*ipaname*	*mamémì*	*pising*	*pahépà*	*maghaghurang*,
then	curing-agent	peel	skin-of	mangrove	mature

kù	*iguéng*	*su*	*belekê*	*pakalawò*	*akene*.
next	cook	in	can	make-much	water-its

'Then, as for the curing agent, one peels bark from a mature mangrove, then this bark is cooked in a can with much water.'

In Binukid (Manabo), the *Sequence Marker* is *daw* 'and then'; the predicate in the clause which expounds *Consequent Base* is in the irrealis or dependent tense. Again, the first example is narrative and the second is procedural.

Nangkalima	*a*	*hu*	*bulan*	*daw*	*a*	*human*	*ulì*.
five	I	the	month	and	I	particle	go-home

'I was there for five months and then I returned home.'

Unahen	ku	sa	panilhig	daw	a	human	mag-iskrab.
first	I	the	sweep	and	I	particle	skate

'I'll sweep and then skate [on a half coconut shell to polish the wood floor].

Both the following examples from Western Bukidnon Manobo are narrative; the Sequence Marker is ne(human) 'and then':

Mid-umpak	en	ne	mibaluy	en	he	kesili.
jumped (he)	completive	and	turn-into	completive	ligature	eel

'He jumped in and turned into an eel.'

Nekepira	sikandan	diye	te	zalan	ne	human	dan	nekeuma.
how-many-ed	they	on	the	trail	and	then	they	arrived

'They were a number of days on the way and then they arrived.'

In the following Western Bukidnon Manobo example, the Antecedent Base is expounded by a Coordinate Sentence (with medial wey 'and'), while the two following Consequent Bases (each preceded with ne 'and') are expounded by clauses:

Nekegezam	heini	is	selazeng	te	meinit	wey	nekeahà	te	hapuy	ne
felt	this		deer	the	heat	and	saw	the	fire	and

midleguwat	ne	nedeawà	en.
struggled	and	got-free	completive

'The deer felt the heat and saw the flames, then he struggled and then he got free.'

Finally, still another Western Bukidnon Manobo example illustrates a Time Margin within the Simple Sentence which expounds Consequent Base. This Time Margin refers anaphorically to the Antecedent Base in exactly the same way that a Time Margin in a subsequent sentence refers to a preceding sentence when both sentences expound successive BUILD-UP tagmemes of a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. Nevertheless, this particular example of Sequence Sentence is unified not simply by its medial Sequence Marker but also by the sentence initial Exclamation and Sentence Topic. There is a Sentence Ligature tagmeme that occurs between the Sentence Topic and the main nucleus, and also between the Time Margin and nucleus of the embedded sentence. Ligature is expounded by ne 'and' while the Sequence Marker is ne(human)--with the more characteristic and specific morpheme human omitted in this example.

A	heini	is	pelaas	ne	mibaal	sikandin	te
exclamation	this		lizard	conjunction	made	he	

midteguan	ne	nekepasad	ne	migenat	en	is
container	link	finished	conjunction	left	completive	

ebpeuuli.
go-home

'Ah, this lizard, he made a container, then when he finished, he left for home.'

In Agta, the Sequence Marker is kapye, which is obligatory. It may be preceded by a ligature element ā or by te 'because'. The latter, while a Relator introducing the Cause Margin also occurs in the Inversion Sentence as 'but'; it has distributions in which the meaning of causality is partially suppressed. Both of the following examples seem to be procedural:

Magadade	ka	ay	mantu	te	kapyek	hapa	maggitaha.
sing	you	emphasis	then	link: because	then-I	also	play-guitar

'Alright, you sing, because afterward I'm going to play the guitar.'

Magkali	ak	bit	te	kapyek	sangaw	magpatayuk	ta
dig	I	briefly	link: because	then-I	later	cause-erect	

ahigi	in.
post	(the)

'I'm digging a hole because then I'll have the house-post erected.'

A potential ambiguity in Bontoc and Balangao between Temporal Margin-ligature-nucleus versus a Sequence Sentence of Antecedent-Sequence Marker-Consequent structure has been discussed above at the end of Sec. 1.3.2.3. The following Balangao examples are narrative and procedural respectively. The Sequence Marker is a particle complex consisting of an optional ya/yag 'and' and an obligatory an...at 'then' which brackets the pronoun of the clause which expounds Consequent.

Inissani	hen	toloy	luwang	ya	anat	babuy	amin.
ate-we	the	three	carabao	and		pig	all

'We ate three carabao and then [we ate] pigs, too.

Waday	man-ammanyu	anyuwat	hamham-en	way	omahawa.
is	do-you	then-you	think	link	marry

'Do some work and then think about getting married.'

The following Bontoc example exemplifies the potential length of the Sequence Sentence. Here ten Bases occur in sequence; numbered items 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20 are Sequence Markers. In that the Sequence Marker is optional it does not occur between Bases 1 (#3) and 2 (#4). Base 9 (#19) is expounded by a Paraphrase Sentence. Base 10 (#21) is considered to be expounded by a back-looping exponent, viz. an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH.

[1]Kedeng pan [2]ay [3]matey pan tet-ewa, [4]pay-ena nan bollayaw
only link die truly put-he the shooting-star

[5]ay [6]esada pan [7]awniyen nan sig-idna-[8]et [9]pomanaltakow
link-they delay the sig-id-his plant-we-

[10]et [11]manonedtakow[12]et [13]maalat nan onas[14]et,
link transplant-we-link got the sugarcane-link

[15]min-anitakow[16]et [17]lomamag ad nan in-ani [18]esada
harvest-we-link gone-up to the harvesters link-they

[19a]ibadoy nan pelsat an Ongyod[b]ay [c]linakowanaay
take-about the one-fourthto Ongyod-link bought-he-attributive

nowang[20]et [21a]alaen Dayakdakay aman da Ikolan
carabao-link get Dayakdak-attributive father plural Ikolan

asnan min-on-onolay botog. [b]Siya di nan alandas
of-the in-heat-attributive pig it that the got-they-for

nan sig-idna.
the sig-id-his

'[1]After that [3]he surely died, and [4]put a shooting star in the sky, [6]then [7]they delayed his sig-id sacrifice, [9]we planted the rice [10]and [11]transplanted it, [13]had the sugarcane harvest [14]and [15]the rice harvest [16]then [17]the harvesters came up to Boyoy [18]then [19a]they took a quarter to Ongyod, [b]that is of [c]the carabao that he bought, [20]then [21a]Dayakdak, the father of Ikolan and the others, got a pig in heat. [b]That is what they got for his sig-id sacrifice.'

In Atta Negrito, Ruth Lusted posits two Sequence Sentences: one with a medial Sequence Marker á 'and' and the other without such an element (and without marked phonological juncture). If this be the only feature separating the two they could be considered to constitute one type with an optional á 'and'. A possible further difference is that while apparently the type without the Sequence Marker does not require that actors be the same in the Bases, the type with the Sequence Marker requires that the actors be the same. It may also be that the former type permits more than two *Bases* while the latter does not. At any rate both types (or sub-types) can probably be both narrative or procedural.[18] Atta Negrito examples follow: the first two examples do not have the *Sequence Marker*, while the latter two have it.

Nabilagán *yù* *nuáng* *na* *natay*.
overheated the carabao his died-it

'His carabao got overheated; it died.'

Pígiá *lâ* *mappadde* *si* *Kuán* *ta* *kakon* *inipatapátà* *na* *mâ* *ta*
how-quickly making Juan the box nailed-up he as-well

napiá *en* *na* *inilappák* *ta* *bebay*.
well went he threw-over in sea

'How quickly Juan made a box: he nailed it up tight as well; he went and threw it into the sea.'

"*Ek* *ku* *támma* *papatáyan* *yù* *límá* *nga* *nuáng* *ku*, *á* *nu* *melákù*
go I think kill the five link carabao my and when sell-I

sangaw *yan* *á* *aru* *nga* *kuártu*," (*kun* *na* *kanu*)
by-and-by that thenmuch link money said he reported/speech

'I think I'll go and kill my five carabaos, and when I sell that then there will be a lot of money," (Juan also reportedly said.)

(*Páno* *ri* *Ikenia*,) *á* *mine* *nangâ* *ta* *baggâ* *ta*
leaving plural Ikenia conjunction went got the rice

dammáng *á* *yì* *inâ* *da* *lábbì* *yù* *baggâ*.
across-river andthe got they just the rice

('When Ikenia and company left,) they went to get rice across the river, and they had just gotten the rice.'

In Itneg there is a *Sequence Sentence* with a complex medial *Link* one or both of whose two components (± *si*- sequence ± *ket* coordinator) occurs in every such sentence.

---

[18] Certain non-narrative examples of the type without *Sequence Marker* do not appear to be as definitely sequential. It may be that the *Phonological Sequence Sentence* (without the *Sequence Marker*) is not specifically and exclusively sequential.

Siya	ta	sid	namaayan	da,	sida	kano	ilobwat,	itallay.
that	the		way	their	then	it's said	prepared	take home

'That's their way, and then they prepared to take him home.'

Isenglag	tayo	ket	yaan	sit	baginas	ta	sitay	manan	nobigat.
roast rice	we		yet	the	millet-our		then	go	tomorrow

'We'll roast rice, even our millet, then go tomorrow.'

In Batak the Sequence Sentence is a juxtaposed sentence without a Sequence Marker. The first example is procedural; the second is narrative:

Tanggung	mapanaway	duatengay.
shoulder	to	go home

'You-shoulder it and set off for home.'

Balik	na	si	Pusung	duateng	na	kat	balay	ya.
return	now		Pusung	went-home		to	house	his

'Pusung returned and went home to his house.'

2.3.1.2 Sequence Sentences in Inibaloi

At the end of 2.2.1.2 I discussed somewhat the Coordinate Sentence versus the Sequence Sentence in Inibaloi. Lee Ballard sets up the Sequence Sentence as including, in effect, any sentence encoding any two events that seem to be in real world sequence. It doesn't matter whether the Sequence Marker be asan 'and then', or tan 'and' (the coordinating conjunction), or jey (the medial Marker of the Simultaneous Sentence) or jet (the medial Marker of the Amplification Sentence). Provided that any of the latter conjunctions may be replaced by asan, the sentence is considered to be a Sequence Sentence.

I have already expressed discontent with such an analysis in that it is an attempt to deny the speaker his prerogative of conceptualizing the same situation in different ways. Take, for example the sentence, (1) 'I went downtown and Mary came home'. As it stands here the English sentence simply coordinates the two events. But the speaker could choose to conceptualize the situation differently: (2) 'About the time that I went downtown, Mary came home'; or again (3) 'I went downtown and then Mary came home'; or again (4) 'I went downtown--and Mary came home'. In spite of the fact that in physical order the first event precedes the second, while (1) coordinates in non-commital fashion; (2) emphasizes that the events take place in roughly the same time span; (3) emphasizes sequence; and (4) reports the second event as an additional piece of information. I suggest here that the Inibaloi particles tan 'and'; jey 'and' (at about that time); asan 'and then'; and jet 'and furthermore' as medial elements between Bases imply in Inibaloi somewhat the distinctions illustrated respectively in the English (1) - (4) above.

The following Inibaloi examples with asan 'and then' involve unequivocal sequence:

Kosto	metlaeng	tep	mepinshowa'n	maesharo	asan
all-right	just-the-same	because	do-twice	plowed	and-then

mepasakad	ma.
harrowed	

'It's all right though because it is plowed twice and then it is harrowed.'

Inkowan	nonta	imok	ey,	Menongpitak	nin	asan	naka
said	the	mosquito		whistle-I	first	and-then	I

kaleta'y	kemkemti.
bite	firefly

'The mosquito said, "I will whistle first, and then I will sting the firefly."'

Jet	inko-nit	to'n	itotong	to'd	kowako	to,	asan	toka	itotong
and	struck	he	light	he-to	pipe	his	and-then	he	lit

shi	disdis	ni	dagidab.
on	cleaning		reeds

'And he struck (the match) and lit his pipe, and then he lit the shavings of the reeds.'

Inangdob	nen	Pitok	i	apoy,	asan	toka	koyeni	ni	sheki	jet
banked				fire	and-then	he	put-onto		bran	and

say	ag	ma-shep	i	apoy.
so	not	extinguished		fire

'He banked the fire, and then he put on it rice bran so the fire wouldn't go out.'

The following three examples with jey are also considered by Ballard to be Sequence Sentences. The first may be emphasizing the 'lifting them up' and 'dropping them violently' as the two activities taking place at that time--especially since the whole process is repeated many times. In the second example, 'cutting short the dance' and not 'continuing it' are perhaps as much paraphrases as events in sequence. In the third example the two events are clearly in sequence, and yet might not the force of the jey be that 'the people evacuated to the mountains about the time that the Spanish arrived' rather than to emphasize the temporal sequence?

Shaka	iba-jat	jey	inbes-ig	sha;	shaka	iba-jat	jey
they	hang-up	and	drop-violently	they	they	hang-up	and

inbes-ig	sha.
drop-violently	they

'They would lift (them) up by a rope and drop (them) violently to the ground; they did this repeatedly.'

Inpanejaw	sha,	nem	kini-toan	to	jey	ag	to	intoloy	i	tayaw.
had-dance	they	but	cut-short	he	and	not	he	continue		dance

'They had him dance the tayaw, but he cut short the dance and did not continue it.'

Inanbakoit	ta	emin	i	too	nontan,	jey	onmotok	ma	ali	Kastil.
evacuated		all		people	then	and	arrived		here	Spanish

'...All the people evacuated (to the mountains) at that time, and then the Spanish arrived.'

Some of Ballard's longer examples, which he regards as Sequence Sentences consisting of a simple linear sequence of Bases and with Sequence Marker "expounded...by different members of the exponent set of conjunctions" show better articulated structures if the differing conjunctions are given weight as indicating differing sentence types within a nest of sentences. In the following example asan may be taken to mark onset of successive Bases within the Sequence Sentence, while jet indicates an Amplification Sentence which expounds the first and second Bases, while the dual occurrence of tan indicates a Coordinate Sentence which expounds the fourth Base. The third Base is expounded by a Paraphrase Sentence. The whole is procedural in import.

No	akaotan	i	kaybebkaan	ni	tokod;	mengisepat	ira	ni
when	dug-out		place-to-bury	of	post	raise	they	

inam-am	jet	menginom	ira	ni	tapey,	asan	shaka	isepat
floor-beam	and	drink	they		rice-wine	and-then	they	raise

i	baniwal,	jet	no	alasshosi,	menginom	mowan	ira	ni
	ceiling-beam	and	when	noon	drink	again	they	

tapey,	asan	iraka	mangan,	ja	sid-an	sha	me	sota	aso
rice-wine	and-then	they	eat		eat	they		the	dog

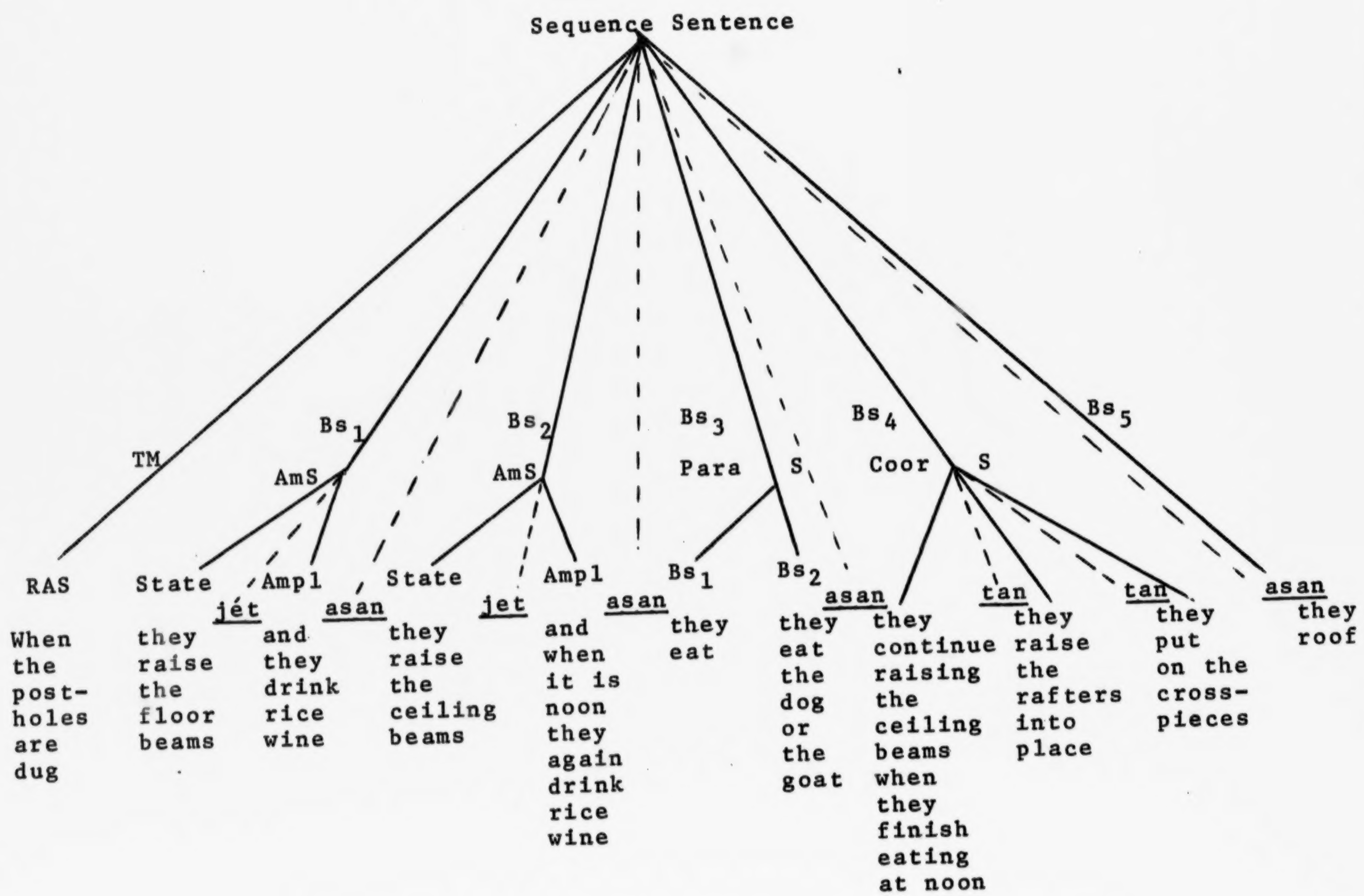
ono	kanshing,	asan	shaka	itodoy	mowan	i	kayang	ni
or	goat	and-then	they	continue	again		raising	of

baniwal	nem	meksheng	ira'n	mengan	ni	alasshosi,	tan	ikayang
ceiling-beam	when	finish	they	eat	at	noon	and	raise

sha'y	kalosod	tan	dekatan	sha,	asan	shaka	atpi.
they	rafters	and	cross-piece	they	and-then	they	roof

'When the post-holes are dug, they raise the floor beams, and (*jet*) they drink rice wine, and then (*asan*) they raise the ceiling beams, and (*jet*) when it is noon, they again drink rice wine, and then (*asan*) they eat, they eat the dog or goat, and then (*asan*) they continue raising the ceiling beams when they finish eating at noon, and (*tan*) they raise the rafters into place and (*tan*) they put on the cross-pieces, and then (*asan*) they roof (the house).'

In the above, note that the conceptualizing activity of the speaker is at work as follows: (1) the sequence of five major activities is conceived to be (a) raising the floor beams; (b) raising the ceiling beams: (c) the big noon day meal with dog or goat meat; (d) the completion of the ceiling beams, and putting on of rafters and cross-pieces; (e) the roofing itself. These five blocks are articulated by the four occurrences of *asan* 'and then'. (2) Within both (a) and (b) there is added information adjoined, viz. that they drink rice wine. In each of these embedded *Amplification Sentences* this additional information is signalled by *jet*. (3) The whole early afternoon's activity, preparatory to the roofing at the end of the day, is summarized in a *Coordinate Sentence* whose parts are linked by *tan* 'and'. Note the accompanying tree diagram (medial *Links* and *Markers* are indicated by dotted lines; other elements by solid lines).


Sequence Sentence
TM
Bs1
AmS
Bs2
AmS
Bs3
Para
S
Bs4
Coor
S
Bs5
RAS
State
jét
Ampl
asan
State
jet
Ampl
asan
Bs1
Bs2
asan
tan
tan
asan
When the post-holes are dug
they raise the floor beams
and they drink rice wine
they raise the ceiling beams
and when it is noon they again drink rice wine
they eat
they eat the dog or the goat
they continue raising the ceiling beams when they finish eating at noon
they raise the rafters into place
they put on the cross-pieces
they roof

INIBALOI SEQUENCE SENTENCE

DIAGRAM 8

Ballard's examples of Inibaloi *Sequence Sentences* without any *Sequence Marker* all look convincing. Note the following:

Sikmaten	*nen*	*Governon*	*Gaelan*	*itan*	*na*	*solat*;	*binasa*	*to*;
catch				that		letter	read	he

in-oli	*to*	*di*	*sotan*	*na*	*solat*.
brought-back	he	here		that	letter

'Gov. Gaelan received the letter; he read it; he returned it to us.'

A-kalen	*sha*	*sota*	*kalsa*;	*simbek*	*sha*;	*dineknara*	*sota*	*pilak*
remove	they	the	gong	reach-in	they	felt-they	the	money

ja	*nay-iyan*.
	inside

'They removed the gong (that was lid on the rice wine jar); they reached inside; they felt the money inside.'

2.3.2 *Paraphrase Sentences*

Paraphrase Sentences encode in one sentence lexical material of the sort typically found in successive TEXT and EXPOSITION tagmemes of the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH or in successive EXHORTATION and REINFORCEMENT tagmemes of the HORTATORY PARAGRAPH. All that we say under Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 3.1 regarding exposition through parallelism applies here.

In most languages this sentence type does not have a medial *Marker*; specific exceptions are pointed out as this presentation proceeds.

2.3.2.1 *Paraphrase Sentences* with repeated lexical items

In Atta Negrito, instances of this sentence type have one or more lexical items repeated in the *Bases* of the sentences; for this reason Lusted terms it a *Recapitulation Sentence*. The following examples resemble TEXT-EXPO(SITION) tagmemes of the EXPOSITORY PARAGRAPH.

Náttamák	*ku*--	*náttamák*	*ku*	*yù*	*dagum*	*mi*	*nga*	*nagatáwà*.
forgot	I	forgot	I	the	year	our	link	married-I

'I forgot--I forgot the year in which we were married.'

Gapu	ta	náttamán	nen	yù	nuáng	na	nga	tádday,	natay
since		forgot	he-then	the	carabao	his	link	one	died-it

--natay	yù	nuáng	na	nga	tádday.
died	the	carabao	his	link	one

'Since he forgot his only carabao, it died--his only carabao died.'

In Aborlan Tagbanwa the repetition of a lexical item in a following Base is not uncommon although it is probably not necessary to the sentence type. In the two examples below such repetition occurs; the first example resembles a TEXT-EXPO sequence of an EXPOSITORY PARAGRAPH while the second possibly resembles more an EXHOR(TATION)-REINF(ORCEMENT) of a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH.

Biagì	nay	badiu;	biagì	nay	tapis;	biagì	nay	lages.
divided		blouse	divided		skirt	divided		head cloth

'(They) divided up the blouses; divided up the skirts; divided up the head cloths.'

Mapanaw	aku;	pabali	aku.
go	I	side	I

'I will go; I will go to the other side (of the island).'

Often synonyms occur in the consecutive Bases as in the following two Ilianen Manobo examples both of which resemble EXHOR-REINF sequences.

Endei	be	ke	ibpeangey	ku	keniyu:	meambe	ke	wara'	meduma
where	indeed	the	sent-for	I	you	who	the	not	come with

si	Ukap?
	Ukap

'Where is the one I sent you for; why didn't Ukap come?'

Helevak	kew	en	ne	menga	kenakan,	pilaya	niyu	en	ke	memaan!
work	you	now	who	plural	young-men	fell	you	now	the	betel-palm

'Work men; cut down the betel palm!'

William Hall in Siocon Subanon distinguishes two sub-types of Paraphrase Sentence--one which repeats a lexical item with added information (his Amplification subtype) and one which employs synonyms in the following *Bases* (his *Reiteration* subtype).[19] Two examples of each subtype follow:

Amplification subtype

Dì ita mokinongog nong molaton dì mogbantoy nong molaton
not we listen bad not watch bad

pò màana non mulì sog gulu ta.
because meaning it return head our

'Let us not listen to what is bad, let us not watch what is bad because it will go into our minds.'

Mialap non ok kotubù non mialap non koponapot non saka konà
got he living his got he clothing his but not

ilan moginang.
they work

'He got his living (food), he got his clothing but they didn't work.'

Reiteration subtype

Konà ta pinintua konà ta momosun dun.
not we advise not we enlighten it

'We are not the ones to advise, we are not the ones to enlighten.'

...manok koni minsan boluyon niu dì da mulì dì da
chicken this even-if let loose you not go home not

mokulog sog baloy.
stray house

'...this chicken, even though you let it loose, will not return (to his former house) will not stray from this house.'

2.3.2.2 *Paraphrase Sentences* with optional links

In Bontoc an optional *Link* expounded by *ay* may occur between the *Bases* of a *Paraphrase Sentence*. Both of the following examples resemble TEXT-EXPO sequences:

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[19] Hall also posits a further subtype which states a sequence. This may perhaps better be grouped with the *Sequence Sentences* in which *mangka* 'and then' can consequently be considered as optional rather than obligatory.

Ngomannganawngawda	*ay*	*makikigkiggawan*.
loud-voices-they	link	join-*kiggaw*-chant

'They make a loud noise joining in the *kiggaw* chant.'

Mawakas,	*omapoyda*,	*enda*	*apoyan*	*nan*	*payew*	*engganay*	*dowan*
next-day	fire-they	go-they	fire	the	fields	until	two

algew.
days

'The next day, they perform the fire ceremony, they take fire to the fields for two days.'

In Western Bukidnon Manobo, a more explicit medial *Link* expounded by *ne kuwinta* may occur; this particle sequence functions much like *i.e.* in English. It occurs in the first example below but not in the second:

Nezumegatan	*en*	*is*	*kebpekesavuk*,	*ne*	*kuwinta*
lowlandered	completive	the	situation	link	

velaud	*en*	*guntaan*	*is*	*edhadì*.
civil-law	completive	now	the	one-ruling

'Our way of life has been influenced by lowlanders; that is, civil law is what rules now.'

Dutun	*kenè*	*en*	*ebpekehipanew*;	*layun*	*dà*	*ebevaha*
then	not	completive	able-to-walk(she)	always	only	carried

ke hendei	*zan*	*ebayà*.
wherever	they	go

'At that time she could no longer walk; she was always carried wherever they went.'

2.3.2.3 Languages with more than one *Paraphrase Sentence*

In two languages--Inibaloi and Kalamian Tagbanwa,--two types of *Paraphrase Sentence* are posited. In one type synonyms occur or lexical items are repeated; the succeeding *Base* is a paraphrase of the preceding *Base*. In the other type one or more lexical items are repeated--so that there is a parallelism of structure--but other items are diverse. As Ballard once communicated to me orally "The *Paraphrase Sentence* says the same thing in two different ways; the *Parallel Sentence* says two different things in similar ways." On the other hand, both varieties of sentence have parallels in TEXT-EXPO sequences in the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH in that parallelism of meaning alone or of form with one repeated item is all that is required.

The following are Inibaloi examples. Phonologically the two sentence types differ in that while the Paraphrase Sentence has semi-final intonation varying optionally to final (so that two phonological sentences may encode as one grammatical one), the Parallel Sentence has a special unifying intonation: "Between each of the Bases the intonation rises to a peak: similar to utterance-final intonation but usually higher". I give below three examples of the Paraphrase Sentence followed by two of the Parallel Sentence.

Itneng jo'n siged ta panmaptengan jo iyay; ag jo
listen you good because good your this not your

met pankotayan.
emphatic bad

'Listen well because this is for your good: it is so you don't do wrong.'

...No maykedima, do-doan sha, a-kalen sha sota bedat to
when fifth peeled they took-off they the skin his

tep adosos ma.
because loose

'...On the fifth (day), they peel him, they remove the skin from him because it is now loose.'

Inpaodira mowan; insedad sha tep maata.
put-back-they again boiled they because uncooked

'They put it back into (the caldron); they boiled it because it was not done.'

Iman i Idoko, iman i Pangasinan, iman ali too di'd
there Ilocano there Pangasinan there people here from

ma Bontoc.
Bontoc

'There are Ilocanos, there are Pangasinans, there are people here from Bontoc.'

Amengingdis sa emin i a-anak; amengingdis i bi-i.
speak English all children speak English women

'All the children speak English; all the women speak English.'

In Kalamian Tagbanwa much the same distinction is found between Paraphrase and Parallel Sentences. Two examples of each follow:

Kemdeng	nga	ilem	asan	tung	puira	tung	kindengan	mu	nungayna,
stand	you	only	there	of	outside	at	stood	you	before

indi	a	magpeleg.
negative	you	move-around

'You just stand there outside where you stood a little while ago, don't make a lot of movement.'

...qay	madipara	aw	pa	ka	enged	anya,	mademdem	naw	ka
for	look-for	I	still	also	anyway	she	remember	I	also

anya.
she

'...for she'll still look for me regardless, she'll also remember me.'

May	lutuk	ang	anen	tung	teeb	may	lutuk	tung	banwa.
there is	edible		food	in	ocean	there is	edible	on	land

'There is edible food in the ocean and there is edible food on land.'

Yawa	lagten	mu	ra	yang	tung	dulung	yuu	lagten	nu	ra	ka	yang
you	lash	you	now		at	prow	I	lash	I	now	also	

tung	buli.
at	stern

'You lash the ones at the prow, I'll lash the ones at the stern.'

In Batak the Paraphrase Sentence is part of a larger pattern in which figure four Juxtaposed Sentence types. The first, consisting of two juxtaposed clauses with verbs prefixed with pag-, is discussed elsewhere (Sec. 2.4.3.5). The second juxtaposed type, which Rosemary Rodda calls Existential Sentence, is a specialized paraphrase structure in which both component clauses contain may 'there are...' as in the two following examples:

May	gimbal	may	lasung	may	babandil.
those	drum	those	gong	those	little gongs

'There are those who will beat the drums and those who will play the big gongs and those who will play the little gongs.'

May	bayu'u	may	bakes.
there was	turtle	there was	monkey

'Once there was a turtle and a monkey.'

The fourth juxtaposed type, a Sequence Sentence, has already been presented (2.3.1). The third type, which she calls Addition Sentence, includes both Coordinate and Paraphrase sybtypes, i.e. the examples of this sentence type vary from those which employ synonyms or repetition of lexical items to examples with less obviously related Bases.

Makarumut	na	tu	umay	ma'iseg	na.
rotten	now		rice	strong	now

'The rice is rotten and it is strong now.'

Nagtangis	iay	pagtangisan	ya.
cried	truly	crying	he

'He cried, he was really crying.'

Mangiseg	aku	kanimu	iagway	makasugid	kanimu.
angry	I	you	that-only	may	you

'I'm angry with you; that's all I have to say to you.'

In Sangir, Kenneth Maryott posits two contrasting types of Paraphrase Sentence. One type the Itemizational Sentence he describes as follows: "In the Itemizational Sentence, a string-initial Summary tagmeme is expanded by means of itemization or detailed breakdown in two or more Itemization tagmemes."

I kami	nararua:	sémbéka	nakoà	taraì,	sémbéka	nakoà	sasaè.
we	two-ed	one-half	went	up	one-half	went	sea-ward

'We were divided into two groups: half of us went inland (and) half of us went toward the sea.'

Pià	tau	i	sire	télu	tahawawine:	esè	darua,	bawine	sémbaù.
have	person		they	three	siblings	men	two	woman	one

'There were three persons who were siblings: two were men (and) one was a woman.'

The other paraphrase type, Maryott describes as follows:

> "In the Specificational Sentence, a string-initial Generalization tagmeme is expanded by means of a specification or exposition in one or two Specification tagmemes. Connectives as such do not occur in constructions

of this type; however, the suprasegmental sentence-level features of non-final pause and non-initial intonation signal connection at the intersection of constituents."

Nawalì	bòu	nénalang	nalangu	tau	Islaéng,	i	sire	natanaè;
returned	after	recreate	dance-of	people	Islam		they	went-down

nakoà	sarang	apeng	sémbéka.
went	toward	beach	other side

'Having returned after watching the dancing of the Muslim people, they went down; they went to the beach on the opposite shore.'

Tawe	makatalang	i	sie,	ualingu	kai	masakì;	tiange	gêguwà.
not-but	ran		he	because		sick	abdomen-his	big

'He couldn't run, because he was sick; his abdomen was swollen.'

In Balangao, Joanne Shetler distinguishes two varieties of Paraphrase Sentence. In the Recapitulation Sentence the lexical item which expounds Predicate in the first Base is repeated as the exponent of Predicate in the second Base.

Indatna	hen	nanbinabinab-an	way	bukal;	iniddatna	hen
gave-he	the	variety	attributive	seed	gave-he	the

kalubbas,	anta,	ahemon....
squash	bean	cucumber

'He gave a variety of seeds; he gave squash, beans, cucumbers...'

Anat	ma-anud	hen	andi	gungun;	na-anud	yag	éméy	ah	di
then-it	drown	the	that	beads	drowned	and	go-it	there	

hen	baybay.
the	ocean

'Then the beads drowned; they drowned and went out to sea.'

In what Shetler labels the Paraphrase Sentence an optional Link expounded by way, 'in that', 'namely' occurs. The first Base is more general, the second more specific (sometimes transformable to a Cause Margin). The first Base is sometimes characterized by such verbs as 'finish', 'necessary', and 'possible'.

Nalpas ano way na-amman hen day-at...
finish-it reported in-that made the sticky rice

'That was finished, in that the sticky rice was made...'

Natey ah Badadangen way penaltoganda.
dead Badadangen in-that shoot-they

'Badadangen is dead in that they shot him.'

In Tausug there is a set of verbal auxiliaries that act somewhat like Relators (on the clause/sentence level). These auxiliaries mean such things as 'first', 'often', 'maybe', 'almost', 'should', 'finish', 'on the way', and 'would be good'. Specialized types of Parallel Sentences occur in which the auxiliaries iyampa 'first' and ubus 'finish' are repeated. The meanings, however, are highly specialized in these structures. Thus a sentence built on the repetition of iyampa is a Frustrative Sentence in which the lexical items of the second Base express something contrary to what might be expected to follow from the lexical items of the first Base. Probably the semantic development here is from 'first...first' to 'as soon as...that soon' to 'the more...the more/the less...'.

Iyampa na aku nagsamin mata iyampa na aku di' makakita'.
then I wear-glasses eye then I not able-to-see

'The more I wear eye-glasses, the less I can see.'

Iyampa ku na liyang iyampa na sila namunggud.
then I restrained then they disobeyed

'The more I restrained them, the more they intentionally disobeyed.'

The specialized Parallel Sentence with ubus 'finish' means 'first this...then that' (repeatedly and alternately).

Ubus niya pitikun ubus niya timbakun.
finish he slingshots finish he shoots

'He repeatedly shoots with a slingshot and with a gun.'

Ubus sumawa ubus di'.
finish shines finish not

'(It) alternately shines and then doesn't shine.'

Seymour and Lois Ashley also set up for Tausug an Equational Sentence which has three subtypes, all of which involve at least one occurrence of amu 'that is', 'namely'. Subtype (a) is a

Comparison Sentence: it may have amu before both Bases or before either Base: an identical lexical item is the head of the phrase which expounds each Base:

Amu na in taud sin ha guwa' amu na in taud sin ha lawm.
that is number of outside that is number of inside

'As many as there are on the outside, that's how many there are on the inside.'

In panaw sin kabaw amu na in panaw sin bagay ku.
walk of carabao that is walk of friend my

'The way the carabao walks is the way my friend walks.'

Amu na in dagbus hi Jimi in dagbus hi Jani.
that is appearance of Jimmy appearance of Johnny

'The appearance of Jimmy is the appearance of Johnny.'
(Jimmy and Johnny look alike.)

Subtype (b) is Equational; it has the same distribution of amu but has different lexical items expounding the head of the phrases which expound the two Bases.

Amu in maragan in taga panji.
that-is "runny" having flags

'The fast runners are the ones with flags.'

In pihak lawd ini amu na in nangabuhianan ha manga kabuhianan
tribe sea this that-is making-a-living at plural livelihood

makawa' nila dayn ha dagat.
will-be-gotten them from sea

'These sea people are the ones making their living on the livelihood they will get from the sea.'

Subtype (c) is a Paraphrase Sentence in which medial amu, 'that is' occurs between Bases expounded by clauses or embedded sentences.

Makaingat na kunu' isab imipat sapi' amu kaingatan
know already said also care-for cows that-is know

mu in tau ha gimba ini sibi'-sibi' pa in anak niya,
you people country this small yet children his

biyabiaksa na magipat sapi'.
trained already care-for cows

'(he) knew already (it's) said to care for cows, that is you know these country people (even) when their children are still small, (they) are trained already to care for the cows.'

While all these Tausug subtypes seem to belong together as one sentence type, only subtype (c) is clearly the sentence-level equivalent of a paragraph-level TEXT-EXPO sequence. In subtype (a) there is a repetition of lexical items such as we see in Parallel Sentences in other languages (whether a distinct type or a subtype of Paraphrase Sentence). Subtype (b) is the most aberrant; however, both (a) and (b) are equational in import. Paraphrase or definition (or even comparison) is not distant semantically from equation. Nevertheless, it is evident that not all the examples of Tausug Equational Sentence are parallel to TEXT-EXPO sequences in EXPOSITORY PARAGRAPHS; some appear to be rather elaborations of clause structures (2.7).

Lee Ballard posits for Inibaloi another type of Paraphrase Sentence which he terms the Amplification Sentence. There are three subtypes: (a) in which Base 1 is expounded by an Existential Clause which is amplified in Base 2; (b) in which Base 2 is expounded by an Equational Clause which amplifies Base 1; and (c) "in which Base 2 gives an amplification or additional information with no formulaic limitations." The medial Link expounded by jet 'and furthermore' is optional in all subtypes. The first two subtypes have internal sequences that are rather similar to the type of TEXT-EXPO sequence found in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS that expound APERTURES to NARRATIVE DISCOURSES. The first three examples below are subtype (a); the latter two are subtype (b):

W̃ara'y	naktel	la	baka;	insedad	mi	sotan.
was	chilled		cow	boiled	we	that

'There was a cow that died from the cold; we cooked that one.'

W̃ara'y	sakey	ja	balodaki,	ja	si	Amkidit	i	ngaran	to;	nanbaley
was	one		young-man			Amkidit		name	his	lived

shi	shontog.
on	mountain

'There was a young man named Amkidit; he lived on the mountain.'

W̃ara	sota	amengiyew;	sinnotan	sha	jet	binora	jet
was	the	getting-wood	cornered	they	and	killed-they	and

indara'y	toktok	to.
took-they	head	his

'And there was one who went for wood; they cornered him and killed him and took his head.'

Mengibesheng	ira	ni	wakal;	si-kato'y	iba-jatan	sha	so
string-up	they		vines	that	place-to-hang	they	

ni	ketap	sha.
	blankets	their

'They would string up vines; that was what they would hang their blankets on (to air them).'

...Semaren	et	ali	ni	Kastil	shiman	jet	si-kato	ali
get-on-way		here		Spanish	there	and	he	here

angibalnay	ni	shalan	ali'd	jay.
guided		trail	here	here

'...The Spanish picked him up on their way, and he was the one who showed the way up here.'

The third subtype of the Inibaloi Amplification Sentence simply uses a Base 2 to tack on a further item of information. Two examples follow; the effect of the conjunction jet is much like a dash in English.

Niman	i	timpo'n	pan-a-shen	jo	mowan	ni	kintoman,	jet
now		time	time-to-work	you	again		first-crop	and

si-kato'y	naka	kelkeljawi.
it	I	reason-to-shout

'Now is the time for you to work again on first-crop rice, and that is why I am shouting.'

Daem	ma	agpayso	jey	melseb	i	Nawal,	jet	sotan	ira	abay-an,
dawn		true		inundated		Nawal	and	those	they	left

singa	kaasi	emo	nen	Apo	Shiyos	ja	abay-an	ira	sotan,
like	grace	probably	of	God			left	they	those

ta	enshi	ira	nontan...
because	not	they	then

'It was no later than dawn when Nawal was drowned, and it was probably by God's grace that those who survived did so, because they weren't there at the time...'

A question might be raised again here as to the many apparent instances of Sequence Sentences with a medial jet: are these really Sequence Sentences or are two events meant to be encoded so that the second is added information--and the whole is an Amplification Sentence? Thus the following Inibaloi sentence is assigned by Ballard to Sequence Sentence. Note, however, the phrase kalebian ngo 'in the night also' which comes after jet:

Sha	*ma*	*ali*	*indipot*	*shi*	*Gusaran*	*ni*	*kalebian*,	*jet*	*kalebian*
they		here	reported	at	Gusaran	at	night	and	night

ngo	*i*	*sha*	*ngo*	*ali*	*ikeljaw*	*shi*	*To-mal*.
also		they	also	here	came-shouted	at	To-mal

Punctuating this sentence as follows, one can argue with some plausibility that it is simply intended to be an *Amplification Sentence*: 'They came and reported it here in Gusaran in the night--and in the night also was when they came and shouted at To-mal.' Consider, however, such a sentence as the following where there are four *Bases* joined by *jet*; it strains credulity to regard this as an *Amplification Sentence*--especially when we note that Ballard does not posit more than two *Bases* in an *Amplification Sentence*:

Kasoreng	*kono*	*ondetep*	*kono*	*ngo*	*jet*	*simbi*	*to'd*	*ma*
finally	hearsay	dived	hearsay	also	and	reached	he-in	the

shanom,	*ja*	*nanpi-ket*	*shima*	*diyang*	*shi*	*shanom*	*jet*	*inteded*
water		wedged-himself	in	cave	in	water	and	held-do

(*to*)	*kono*	*jet*	*dimekeng*	*shima*	*shanom*.
he	hearsay	and	bloated	in-the	water

'Finally he dived in too and reached him in the water, wedged in a cave under the water, and he held him under the water, and he became bloated in the water.'

It may, therefore, be best to assume that both *asan* 'and then' and *jet* 'and furthermore' may occur in *Sequence Sentences*.[20]

2.3.3 Other derivations from EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS

Consecutive sentences that fit the lexical requirements of a TEXT-RESULT sequence in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS (Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 3.3) or of EXHOR-RESULT in a HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS (Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 4) may be alternatively encoded as one sentence.

In the Binukid (Manobo) *Result Sentence* this is accomplished by phonological juncture without any conjunction:

---

[20] On the other hand, it remains plausible that the so-called *Sequence Sentences* posited by Ballard with *tan* 'and' are really *Coordinate Sentences* (2.2.1.2) while such sentences with *jey* are really *Simultaneous Sentences* (2.4.3.6).

Hibayà nasamuk, hibayà en nanginginsà ku inu ha
always worried always particle asked sign what ligature

naul-ulahan.
happened

'She was worried so she kept asking what had happened.'

Nasunug sa duma ha hiket, nangatastas.
burned the other ligature tie snapped-loose

'The other rope burned so it snapped loose.'

In Inibaloi the Result Sentence can have medial (jet) isonga or (jet) nokol ni 'therefore', 'as a result'; or nul.

Examples of such sentences are similar to TEXT-RESULT sequences:

Atey emola ira; isonga ag ali sha on-ondaw.
dead probably they therefore not here they come

'They've probably died; that is why they have never come back here.'

Tootoo-ak ni abos; isonga an-ogaoges sha-ak...
only person-I only therefore bitterly hate they me

'I am only the lowest of people; therefore they bitterly hate me...'

Enshi nontan i mekan, jet nakol ni inandigat kita...
none then food and therefore had-difficulty we

'We had no food at that time; as a result we had much difficulty.'

If the two halves of the preceding sentence occurred as consecutive sentences within a paragraph they would form a TEXT-RESULT sequence as follows:

FIGURE	GROUND	
We had no food at that time ↘		TEXT
We had much difficulty	Ø	RESULT

That is, Sentence 1 could be transformed to a Cause Margin of Sentence 2 (one of the tests for a RESULT tagmeme). It is, therefore, significant that Ballard specifically mentions this as a 'preferred transform' within the Result Sentence itself, viz. Base 1 can be transformed to a Cause Margin of Base 2.

The Balangao Result 1 Sentence has an obligatory medial Marker expounded by wat 'result in'.

Mangahawaà	wat	lomayawà	(a).
marry-I	link	leave-I	echo question

'I'm getting married so I'm leaving, (eh).'

Dadan	hudhud	wat	da-ani	ma-amla-amlang.
they	story	link	we	laugh

'They're telling stories, resulting in us laughing and laughing.'

The Agta examples all seem to parallel EXHOR-RESULT sequences of the HORTATORY PARAGRAPH (cf. Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 4). Roy Mayfield calls this sentence type the Correlative Sentence.

Anun	ta	kām	padugimān	o,	entānan.
why	we(exclusive)	you(plural)	cause-exclusion		go-we(inclusive)

'Why would I cause you to be excluded, let's go!'

"E	ka	sangaw	ta	bali	magpasiāh,	awem	māmat,"	kun	na.
come	you	later		house	visit	not-you	be-shy	said	he

'"You come to the house to visit, don't be shy," he said.'

In Kalamian Tagbanwa the Outcome Sentence parallels an EXHOR-WARN sequence of the HORTATORY PARAGRAPH (Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 4.1). Notice the following sentence:

Muyu	maita	ta	tau,	pukispukisen	nira.
little while	see	by	person	cut-up	they

'It might be that somebody will see it (equipment), and they'll cut it all up into little pieces.'

This can be backtransformed into a paragraph as follows (symbol β = positive/negative reversal);

GROUND_1	FIGURE	
β	Don't let anyone see this equipment.	EXHOR
If someone should see it ↙	they'll cut it all up into little pieces.	WARN

Notice the following two examples of Outcome Sentence in Kalamian Tagbanwa.

Taa	kung	indi	mu	pa	asikasuen	ta ustu,	mapatay,	anda	ray	kiru	ta.
well	if	negative	you	yet	care-for	properly	dies	no	now	dog	our

'Well, if you don't take care of him properly, he'll die, consequently we'll have no more dog.'

Muya	alapan	naw	ta	elek,	masirtaan	naw	ni	Bukaya.
awhile	overcome	I	with	sleep	discovered	I	by	Crocodile

'I might be overcome with sleep, and crocodile would discover me.'

Even a narrative example such as in the following Outcome Sentence still has a parallel in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS:

...naplaan	da	yang	tinanguni	na,	indi	na	ra	kayanan	ang	mangay	tung	teeb.
stranded	now		body	his	negative	he	now	able		go	to	ocean

'...his body got stranded, as a result he was not able to go into the ocean.'

The HORTATORY counterpart of this would be 'If your body should get stranded you won't be able to go into the ocean.' Probably, however, such examples as this last one might better be considered to be parallel to a TEXT-RESULT sequence in an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH.

FIGURE	GROUND	
His body got stranded		TEXT
He wasn't able to get into the ocean	Ø (Cause Margin)	RESULT

There is a hortatory subtype of the Inibaloi Result Sentence that is parallel to an EXHOR-WARN sequence:

Aliw̃a'n	kita	ali	ma-shepan	mowan	jet	nakol	ni	ag	mayshedmang	i	shalan	nem	on-akad	kita.
not	we	here	torch-go-out	again	and	as-a-result		not	see		trail	when	go-home	we

'We shouldn't let our torches go out; otherwise we won't be able to see the trail when we go home.'

Si-kami	onbantay	niya	kapi,	jet	mesepol	la	ag	mi	itolok
we	watching	this	coffee	and	necessary		not	we	consent

i	eshom	ma	too	ja	on-ala	ni	kapi;	nakol ni	pebesolan
	others		people		get		coffee	otherwise	blame

sha	kami.
they	us

'We are the ones watching this coffee, and we must not allow others to get the coffee; otherwise they will blame us.'

Notice how well the first example can be backtransformed to an EXHOR-WARN sequence:

GROUND_1	FIGURE	
β	We shouldn't let our torches go out.	EXHOR
If we let our torches go out	we won't be able to see the trail when we go home.	WARN

2.3.4 Derivations from DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS (Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 5)

In Western Bukidnon Manobo there is a Question-Answer Sentence which is parallel to a SPEECH_1-SPEECH_3 (lexically QUESTION-ANSWER) in a SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

A	hengkey	is	mid-ulaula	zin;	midtulung	en
exclamation	what	the	did	she	continued	completive

medsinegew.
wept

'Oh what did she do; she continuously wept.'

A	hengkey	is	intavak	te	kezekelan;	mid-uyun
exclamation	what	the	answer	the	people	agreed

sikandan	te	migkagi	heini	te	vahi.
they	the	said	this	the	woman

'Ah what did the people answer; they agreed to this which the woman said.'

In Agta occurs an Inferential Sentence which seems to involve a SPEECH_1 (REMARK or PROPOSAL) followed by a SPEECH_0 (the dialogue periphery which is lexically a REMARK). The following example parallels a SPEECH_1(PROP) SPEECH_0(REM) sequence:

Ituldu	da	minā	ya	māpya	tekid	petta	magnonot	kid	baka
teach	they	ought		good	them	so-that	consider	they	since

awān	hud	tekid	i	Afu	Hesus	awā	ittā	tekid	mangdangag
none	(doubt)	them		Lord	Jesus	since	there-is	they	listen

ta	uhohugan	da.
	speaking	they

'They ought to teach them good things so they will consider them; after all it is not true that the Lord Jesus is not with them when in fact he is with them listening to what they say.'

The next example parallels SPEECH_1(REM) SPEECH_0(REM) in structure (the second Base is a covert remark in the form of a rhetorical question):

O	anun	ku	paha	pakolunan	ya	binahāyāng	baka	masāpul
	why	I	yet	interest-in		wine	after all	need

ku	yana.
I	that

'Oh why do I still fuss over wine, after all, do I need that?'

2.4 Derivation by incorporation of exponents of peripheral tagmemes

Further sentence nuclei are derived by bringing exponents of peripheral tagmemes into the nucleus. Typically, it is elements of the inner periphery, particularly exponents of sentence margins that incorporate into derived nuclei. I present immediately below a few derived nuclei which incorporate other than sentence margin tagmemes. In following subsections of this section I present nuclei derived by incorporating first Time Margins, then various sorts of Teleological Margins, then various sorts of Implicational Margins.

2.4.1 Incorporation of tagmemes other than sentence margins

In Aborlan Tagbanwa, Stewart Hussey does not posit an Echo Question tagmeme in the outer periphery of the sentence. Rather, he posits a special sentence type in which the Echo

Question tagmeme occurs final but which also contains two additional tagmemes expounded by negatives. With the obligatory double negative the question elicits an affirmative answer.[21] Here it appears that a feature of the outer periphery, the Echo Question has been brought into the nucleus where it stands related to the two negative tagmemes in a pattern of obligatory co-occurrence. Hussey's formula and two of his examples follow:

+neg	+Que	+neg	+EchQue
da-gà 'not'	SimS	da-gà	ba
ega/engga 'not'	DQS	ega/engga	ques. part.

Da-gà	magka-rut	ka	nat	makina,	ega	ba?
negative	know how	you		type	negative	question

'You do know how to type, don't you?'

Da-gà	nakaragì	ka	it	pagsurugiden,	ega	ba?
negative	mixed	you		trial	negative	question

'You did go to the trial, didn't you?'

In Tausug, Seymour and Lois Ashley posit a Comparison Sentence in which apparently the Sentence Topic incorporates into the sentence nucleus. This incorporated Sentence Topic (called Equivalent 1 tagmeme by the Ashleys) is a diminutive (i.e. an entirely reduplicated) stem prefixed with sa- (evidently some sort of nominalizer). This prefixed diminutive stem must be the same lexical item as that found in the predicate of the clause which expounds the Comparative tagmeme. Both may, in turn, be followed by an optional Equivalent 2 tagmeme expounded by a comparative phrase 'than X'.

Sasawa-sawa	sin	palitaan	masawa	pa	in	bulan.
little-brightness	of	lamp	bright	yet		moon

'As bright as the lamp is, the moon is brighter.'

Sabichara-bichara	ku	ha	taymanghud	ku	bichara	ku	pa	ha	asawa	ku.
little-talk	my		sibling	my	talk	my	yet		wife	my

'As much as I talk to my sibling, I talk more to my wife.'

2.4.2 Incorporation of sentence margin tagmemes

Norman Abrams states (with immediate reference to Koronadal Bilaan) the following thesis: When a Relator-Axis

---

[21] Hussey labels this sentence type Rhetorical Question which is somewhat of a misnomer in that rhetorical questions do not elicit answers but are statements, reproofs, etc. in question form.

Sentence which is an exponent of a margin is brought into the sentence nucleus, then the bond between the *Relator* and the *Axis* is weakened and the erstwhile *Relator* becomes a sentence level *Marker*, while the *Axis* becomes a *Base* of the sentence. Thus, if an 'if' *Relator-Axis Sentence* such as 'if he comes' is incorporated into a sentence 'If he comes then I won't go', the 'if' and the 'then' become balancing *Markers* on the sentence level where they constitute a fundamental part of the framework of the sentence. The remaining parts of the sentence 'he comes' and 'I won't go' then become exponents of *Base 1* and *Base 2*. I quote here at length Abram's argument:

> "All five subtypes of *Relator-Axis Sentence* also function within the nuclei of certain sentence types. When, however, they thus function within the nucleus the relator-axis bond is weakened and the *Relator* falls into one of the fundamental slots of the sentence nucleus. Thus in the following *Simple Sentence* with a *Cause Margin*, the particle *du* 'because' relates immediately to *mlungay agu* 'I am weak'; the whole *Relator-Axis Sentence* then relates as a *Cause Margin* to the rest of the sentence:
>
> | | | | | | |
> |---|---|---|---|---|---|
> | *Du* | *mlungay* | *agu* | *là-la* | *fimò* | *deg*. |
> | because | weak | I | not-they | hire | me |
>
> 'Because I was weak they didn't hire me.'
>
> Consider, however, the following *Result Sentence*:
>
> | | | | | | | | |
> |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
> | *Du* | *mlungay* | *agu*, | *yé* | *duen-la* | *là* | *fimò* | *deg*. |
> | because | weak | I | that | reason-they | not | hire | me |
>
> 'Because I was weak that's why they didn't hire me.'
>
> In this sentence the particle *du* 'because' is balanced over against *yé duenla* 'that's why' as surely as the first clause is balanced against the second. The particle *du* 'because' is therefore assigned to one of the fundamental slots of the *Result Sentence*.
>
> "The *Relator-Axis Sentences* which function as *Circumstance* and *Purpose Margins* also function as *Stimulus* head in a *Result Sentence* when co-occuring with a *Result* head. Again, the *Relator du mdà di* 'due to' is assigned to a sentence level slot in the *Result Sentence*."
>
> | | | | | | | | | | |
> |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
> | *Du* | *mdà* | *di* | *klungay* | *laweh-gu*, | *yé* | *duenla* | *là* | *fimò* | *deg*. |
> | due | to | | weakness | body-my | that | reason-they | not | hire | me |
>
> 'Due to my weakness, they wouldn't hire me.'

"Temporal Relator-Axis Sentence introduced by kanto 'when, after' may similarly be absorbed into the nucleus of a Sequence Sentence with kanto 'when' assigned to a new slot.

Kanto-gu	teen	i	to	ayé,	klo-gu	mdà.
after-I	see		man	that	then-I	go

'After I saw that man, then I left.'

"Concessive Relator-Axis Sentence introduced by balù 'even, although' is similarly absorbed into the Concessive Sentence."

Balù	mlungay	agu,	gabay	galabek	agu.
although	tired	I	anyway	work	I

'Even though I'm tired, I'll work anyway.'"

I have, however, in the following sections spoken loosely of "the incorporation of exponents of sentence margins into the nucleus" without pausing to point out the restructuring of the erstwhile Relator as Marker. Thus, in most places the presentation proceeds as if a Relator-Axis Sentence is simply brought into the nucleus as a given Base of the derived nucleus. This expedient is adopted mainly from considerations of brevity. The data papers on which this volume is based divide at this point with some reassigning the erstwhile Relator to a new sentence-level slot and others not. The former adopt transformations of A type (which I believe are theoretically the more defensible) and others transformations of B type (which initially appear to be simpler and more straightforward):

A. $\mathrm{SM{:}RA}_{xy} + \mathrm{N}_{z} \rightarrow \mathrm{Nd} = + \underset{x}{\mathrm{Mk}_1} + \underset{y}{\mathrm{B}_1} + \mathrm{Mk}_2 + \underset{z}{\mathrm{B}_2}$

B. $\mathrm{SM{:}RA}_{xy} + \mathrm{N}_{z} \rightarrow \mathrm{Nd} = \mathrm{B}_1{:}\underset{xy}{\mathrm{RA}} + \mathrm{Mk} + \underset{z}{\mathrm{B}_2}$

(where SM = sentence margin; RA = Relator-Axis Sentence; N = nucleus; Nd = derived nucleus; Mk = Marker; and B = Base).

2.4.3 Incorporation of exponents of Time Margins

The variety of Time Margin tagmemes and of exponents of the same (Sec. 1.3.2), affords a number of items available for incorporation into the sentence nucleus. The gerundative exponent of Time Margin (prefixed with pag-/paka-/ka-) is not, however, incorporated into the derived nucleus (except under the special dependent plus dependent constructions described below under 2.4.3.5). Rather, other exponents such as time phrases or words and Relator-Axis Sentences are the elements incorporated into the derived nucleus. Independent clauses, that appear to be incorporated Time Margins in some languages, may be Relator-Axis Sentences with deleted Relator if a Time Margin is not expounded by such clauses in a given language. Instances also occur of specialized Relators in incorporated Time Margins: these specialized Relators (which now have become construction Markers) determine lexical restrictions elsewhere in the derived nucleus.

2.4.3.1 Incorporation of prior Time Margin

In Kalamian Tagbanwa, Aborlan Tagbanwa, Koronadal Bilaan, and Ata Manobo derived sentences occur in which the exponent of the incorporated Time Margin reflects activity prior to that reported in the remainder of the nucleus. A balancing and cross-referencing particle occurs before the part of the nucleus which reports the subsequent activity. Structures and labels employed to characterize their parts differ from language to language.

Thus, in Kalamian Tagbanwa, a derived sentence of this type is termed the Antecedence Sentence. Its constituent tagmemes are: + Activity 1 + Antecedent Link + Activity 2. The exponents of Activity 1 are: time words, Relator-Axis Sentence (temporal), Independent Clause, and Merged Sentence. The latter two exponents may be considered to be Relator-Axis Sentences which have deleted the Relator. The Antecedence Link is expounded baklu or antis 'before' (which can as well be translated 'and then'). Examples follow:

Pagkamangayag	baklu	pa	tanyang	isinaay.
next day	before	yet	he	embarked

'It was the next day before he was put aboard.'

Magelat	pang	lempak	yang	paray	baklu	pa	mataklib.
wait		sprout		rice	before	yet	pass

'He will wait for the rice to sprout before he passes.'

In Koronadal Bilaan, two such derived sentence types occur. One is termed the Sequence Sentence with constituent tagmemes + Action 1 + Link + Action 2. While Action 1 may be expounded by Relator-Axis Sentence with k[illegible]to 'when' as Relator, very commonly the Relator is deleted. The medial Link is expounded by klo 'and then' (which could as well be translated 'before'). Although Action 1 and Action 2 do not permute, the Link expounded by klo may permute to the fore of the sentence where it is now glossed 'after'; the particle *na* 'and' then intervenes between *Action 1* and *Action 2*.

Na	*mdà*	*yê*	*flafus*	*klo*	*mà*	*lmalò*	*di*	*flabi*.
and	go	mother	morning	then	father	follow		afternoon

'Now mother went in the morning, then father followed in the afternoon.'

Klo mdà yê flafus na mà lmalò di flabi.

'After mother went in the morning, father followed in the afternoon.'

The above example is typical of Norman Abram's examples of this sentence. In each case a particular event A occurs, then an event B.

A further derived sentence type Abrams calls the *Series Sentence*. It has no medial *Sequence Marker* but is rather a juxtaposed sentence. *Base 1* is probably an incorporated exponent of *Time Margin*; it contains some sort of motion verb such as 'enter', 'arrive', 'leave', 'raise' or an equivalent expression. The action of *Base 1* or its results persists during the action described in *Base 2*. Thus, in the first example below someone enters a restaurant, then while there orders food. Similarly in the second example someone arrives somewhere; then being at that place, unties something.

Fusuk	*di*	*ristaurant*,	*order*	*kanen*	*tlu*	*fligo*	*i*	*knaan*.
enter	in	restaurant	order	he	three	plates		rice

'He entered the restaurant, he ordered three plates of rice.'

Na	*kel*	*agu*	*ditù*,	*nteh-gu*.
and	arrive	I	there	untie-I

'I got there; I untied it.'

2.4.3.2 Incorporation of quasi-conditional *Time Margins*

In Aborlan Tagbanwa a *Temporal Condition Sentence* is posited. The *Relator-Axis Sentence* that is incorporated here has a *Relator* expounded by *in* 'if/when'. While as exponent of a sentence margin such *Relator-Axis Sentences* with *in* typically occur pre-nuclear, they are brought into the derived nucleus in a position postposed to the rest of the nucleus. An initial cross-referencing and balancing *Marker* occurs expounded by purabir 'before' and bagu 'then/after'.[22] While these sentences are temporal rather than conditional, Stewart Hussey terms the Bases Apodosis and Protasis, which occur in this order. The Relator in of the Protasis is optional with purabir as exponent of Marker, but is obligatory with bagu.

In the following example, either exponent of Marker may be used:

Purabir/bagu	ka	magpasiar	in	nakaka-en	ka.
before then	you	visit	if/when	eaten	you

'Before you go visiting you must eat' or 'When you have eaten, then you will go visiting'.

In the next example, the in of the Protasis does not occur:

Purabir	ka	mapanaw	mangayu	ka	da-an.
before	you	go	get-wood	you	first

'Before you go you first get firewood.'

Further subtypes of this Aborlan Tagbanwa sentence occur in which sabalì 'then and only then' replaces purabir and bagu as Marker; and in acquires a 'when and only when' or 'if and only if' meaning. Some of the examples of this type appear to be biconditional propositions. Further complications that occur in these subtypes might well make one wonder if they do not constitute a further sentence type. I give below one of the examples more amenable to analysis as a subtype of the Temporal Condition Sentence:

(A,	ega)	sabalì	makasled	ka	in	magbegay	ka	it	duang
ah	no	then-only	enter	you	if	give	you		two-ligature

pulung	dangaw	i	tadu.
ten-ligature	handspread		candle

'Ah, no, you only can enter when you have given twenty pieces of candles a hand's spread in length.'

In Ata Manobo, a Temporal Sentence is posited. Its Base 2 is expounded by a Relator-Axis Sentence with ko 'if/when' as Relator. The sentence-initial Marker is woy 'before/and then'.

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[22] The differences in gloss are probably more apparent than real; either particle may possibly be translated either way.

When a past tense occurs in Base 1, the Relator ko may be omitted in the following Base 2.

Woy	a dò	oghipanow	ko	mausilom.
before	I	just walk	when	night-time

'It will be night-time before I rise.'

Woy	moko-uma	si	Buliung,	laten	on	so	manok.
before	arrived		Buliung	roosted		the	chicken

'By the time Buliung arrived the chickens were already roosting.'

In Dibabawon Manobo, what appears to be a corresponding sentence type is labelled Condition Sentence. The second Base is expounded by a Relator-Axis Sentence with ko 'if/when' or no 'when' as Relator. The initial Marker is monang 'only'. The force of the sentence is 'only...if/when' or 'not...unless/until'.
Examples follow:

Monang	nig-abut	kandan	no	kasaklop	on.
marker	arrive	they	when	dark	time particle

'They only arrived when it was already dark.'

Monang	ogkapudut	ko	oftuntunan	to	hagdan	diyà	to
marker	can-get	when	lower	relator	ladder	there	relator

sood	to	lugì.
inside	relator	hole

'It can only be gotten when a ladder is lowered down into the pit.'

In Itneg, Janice Walton posits a juxtaposed sentence type which she terms Circumstance Result Sentence. She puts it into the same order of sentences as the Sequence and Time (much like Extent Sentence in Bontoc). Base 1 of this juxtaposed sentence may transform to a clause-level time expression. The two Bases of the sentence are not permutable in that chronological sequence is implied. This is possibly a sentence type derived from incorporating exponent of a Time Margin with deletion of the Relator of the Relator-Axis Sentence.[23]

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[23] It could alternatively be derived from combining exponents of successive BUILD-UP tagmemes as described in Sec. 2.3.1.

Seepena	kandi	daya,	naid	da.
smelled-he	to	east	not	they

'He smelled to the east, they weren't there.'

Sengan	da	kano,	naid	kanta	biyag	nanen.
saw	they	it's said	not	the	life	him

'They looked, his life was gone.'

2.4.3.3 Incorporation of Extent Margins

In a few languages (Aborlan Tagbanwa, Itneg, Bontoc, and Balangao) there are sentence types that are derived by incorporation of a Time Margin of the extent variety.

In Aborlan Tagbanwa an Extent Sentence is posited. The incorporated Relator-Axis Sentence has either the Relator seked 'until' or sapag- 'from the time of' (marking extent forward and backward in time respectively); these Relators do not occur as such in exponents of Time Margin in that the structures in which they occur are now limited to the Extent Sentence. The Base 2 is obligatorily negative.

Seked	delem,	da-gay	miabut.	Seked	minyag.
until	night	negative	arrived	until	daybreak

'Until night, still they didn't arrive. Until daybreak, still (they didn't arrive.)'

Seked	na	nakabangun,	ega	na	nakapanaw.
until		sit-up	negative		able-walk

'(He tried) until he was able to sit up, still he couldn't walk.'

Sapaggurang	ku	sikaini-en,	egay	naltegan	kung	atkayan.
from time old	I	here	negative	seen	I-ligature	like that

'From the time I have been old here, I have not seen anything like that.'

A similar sentence type is termed Time Sentence in Itneg. The tenses of the Bases are non-past and positive (in our present sample). All the examples appear to be from PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES.

Intono	malpas	na	matatakan	sida	ket	magpak-ol.
until	finish	he	cleaning	then-they	and	harrow

'Until he finishes cleaning the terrace wall, and then they will harrow.'

Intono	kalpasana	matono	sika	ket	isolad.
until	finish	roasting	then-you	and	cook

'Until (you are) finished roasting it, and then you will stew it.'

The Extent Sentences posited in Bontoc and Balangao are very similar to each other. In both languages an Extent Relator-Axis Sentence is posited but limited to occurrence incorporated in the nucleus of the Extent Sentence. Three Bases are posited: "Base 1 until Base 2, then Base 3". In Bontoc there are two subtypes. In the first subtype, Base 1 is positive or negative, past or non-past; Base 2 is expounded by a nominalized verbal construction; and either Base 1 or Base 3 is optional. In the second subtype, Base 1 is negative and non-past; Base 2 is expounded by an Extent Relator-Axis Sentence, and only Base 1 is optional. I follow with one example of each subtype:

Dowami	in-igoygoy	engganay	nalpas,	kanan	nan
continue-we	pull	until-attributive	finish	say	the

Iloko	en, "...
Ilocano	quote

'We kept pulling them until they were finished and then the Ilocano said, "..."'

(Nan	deey	inteel	sinan	pisina,	mo	adida	indono)
the	this	stay	in-the	office	if	negative-they	work

adida	mabayadan	met,	sik-od	indono	esa	mabayadan.
negative-they	paid		not-until	work	then	paid

'(These who work in the offices, if they don't work), they don't get paid, not until they work do they get paid.'

2.4.3.4 Further special derivations

In Aborlan Tagbanwa occurs still another sentence which incorporates a Time Margin under very special lexical restrictions: (a) the Relator of the Relator-Axis Sentence is expounded by palibasay 'when', 'whenever', once that...'--which occurs only incorporated in this derived sentence nucleus, not in a Time Margin elsewhere. (b) the lexical items in Base 2 report an activity, attitude, or state that is socially undesirable and which is not that which would be expected from what is reported in Base 1. The whole is not inappropriately called a Disparate Sentence. I follow with the English translation of a few examples: 'Once you grow up you are angry with everyone [instead of showing your maturity by self-control]'. 'Once you barely learn how to cut down trees you boast of how good you are at cutting down trees.' 'Once you just barely have a lot of coconut plants, you daily climb up and get the very young fruit.' 'Once you are wealthy you become selfish [instead of sharing with all your relatives as custom prescribes].'

In Bontoc there is incorporation of a Time Margin into the nucleus in what Lawrence Reid terms a Recurrent Action Sentence. Base 1 is expounded by a temporal phrase or clause and Base 2 by clauses or sentences; between the two Bases occurs en. As Reid explains it "The Recurrent Action Sentence presents in Base 1 a setting, circumstance, time etc. when the action occurring in Base 2 recurs" (cf. Bontoc, the end of 2.4.4).

Mawakas en dowa nan iyalida.
next-day link two the bring-they

'Day after day they bring two.'

(Esa kano ngen madno nan donowem ay) ig aw-awni
future report doubt worked the work-your link very little-while

en engka pomatong?
link go-you sit

'(Will your work possibly be finished, if) every little while you keep on going to sit down?'

Still another specialized incorporation of Time Margin into nucleus occurs in what Joanne Shetler terms the Hortatory Sentence. Here the incorporated temporal element is but one lexical item, awni 'later'. Shetler regards this simply as a Formula tagmeme and writes: "Formula 3 is not considered to be a Time Margin because the Link is obligatory in this sentence type and Links between margins and nucleus are not obligatory." The Link is expounded by two particles: wat 'surely' (in which case the Base of the sentence implies assurance); and ya(g) 'and' (in which case the Base implies warning). Examples follow:

Aw-awni wat nawaya no iddat-o.
later link come-I when give-I

'I'll come just as soon as I give this.'

(Te) awni yag ekatda en, dan tokal ah Jwami.
because later link say-they signal sad Jo

'(Because) they might be saying that Jo is sad.'

2.4.3.5 Incorporation of simultaneous *Time Margins*

In some languages *Time Margins* which express simultaneous actions or states ('while' margins) have been incorporated into the nucleus. This is especially clear in Tausug, where Seymour and Lois Ashley posit a *Simultaneous Time Sentence*. The exponent of *Time Margin* which is absorbed into the nucleus as *Base 1* is found only here in the derived nucleus not in the margins as such. This exponent is a *Relator-Axis Sentence* with *baba* or *sa'bu* 'while' as *Relators*. The former cooccurs with an independent verbal clause "inflected for non-begun state" as exponent of *Base 2* and does not permit a medial *Marker*. The latter particle, cooccurs with an "independent verbal clause inflected for begun state or any non-verbal clause"; it has an optional medial *Marker* expounded by conjunctions meaning 'next', 'then suddenly' and 'came to be' (which are non-specific to this sentence type in that they also occur in the sentence periphery). The bases may permute:

Baba sila wala' di pagtayp na kaw.
while they not here type you

'While they are not here, you type.'

Unu in kiyakitaan mu sa'bu kaw ha panawan?
what saw you while you walking

'What did you see while you were on your walk?'

Sa'bu kami nagpapanayam duun sakali nagdagan in tau.
while we playing there then ran men

'While we were playing there, then the men ran.'

In Ata Manobo a *Simultaneous Sentence* is formed by juxtaposing either two Gerundative (with *pog-* prefixed verb) clauses or two clauses containing dependent or irrealis verbs. In that both these constructions are regular exponents of *Time Margin* in Ata Manobo, this amounts to creating a new sentence nucleus by juxtaposing two similar exponents of *Time Margin*--without any independent element in the nucleus. The following examples consist of juxtaposed gerundative clauses:

Pogko-on to bakosan to bogan to mansanas, pogtuù pà to
when-eat the python the fruit of apples when-drop yet the

woig.
water

'As the python was eating the apple fruit, the water (of the fruit) was dripping down.'

Pogkog-os	ku	to	ulod	poglaguat	din.
when-squeeze	I	the	snake	when-writh	he

'As I squeeze the snake, he writhes.'

Patricia Hartung comments: "Action 1 and Action 2 may both be marked with irrealis instead of pog- clause provided that the clause contains no focus like a pog-clause contains no focus..." In the following example the verb pitow in both clauses is irrealis and no Topic is indicated in either clause since the verbs do not indicate focus.

Pitow	ni	donghuan	to	mabatok	du-on	to
see	non-topic	Don Juan	non-topic	speckled-thing	there	

longod	to	batu	pitow	to	bakosan	to	otow.
beside		stone	see	non-topic	speckled-thing	non-topic	person

'As Don Juan saw the speckled thing beside the rock the python also saw him.'

In Batak and Aborlan Tagbanwa, similar derived sentence nuclei are formed by juxtaposing pag-clauses. In these two languages, however, the derived sentence nucleus indicates not simultaneity but sequence. Consider the two following Batak examples:[24]

Pagabut	ya	pagtanggung	it	palsawan	ya.
reach	he	shoulder		trap	his

'When he arrived he shouldered his trap.'

Pagabut	pagsakwal.
arrive	climb

'When he reached the place he climbed.'

---

[24] In Aborlan Tagbanwa pag- verbs may expound predicates of independent clauses in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. In such cases, the pag- clause plus pag- clause sentence nucleus can be considered to be directly formed from two successive sentences which expound BUILD-UP tagmemes as in 2.3.1.

Simultaneous Sentences in Agta and Inibaloi contain no sort of *Relator* in the exponent of either *Base* but employ a medial *Link* which indicates simultaneity. It is nevertheless possible to regard these sentence nuclei as derived from the incorporation of a temporal *Relator-Axis Sentence* with deletion of the *Relator*.[25]

In Agta a medial link *yāga* 'at the same time' is employed as in the following two examples; Roy Mayfield calls this sentence type a *Concomitant Sentence*:

Awek	*ange*	*ta*	*dapun*	*te*	*magtakit*	*āk*	*yāga*	*awān*	*āk*	*ta*	*igātāng*.
not-I	do		market	because	sick	I	Link	none	I		spend

'I'm not going to the market because I'm sick and besides I don't have anything to spend.'

Lumagap	*āk*	*ta*	*adālam*	*en*	*ā*	*nabattutān*	*āk*	*yāga*	*matakit*
submerged	I		deep	(the)	and	lost-breath	I	Link	hurt

ya	*bangbangku*.
	ears-I

'I swam underwater at the deep place and I lost my breath besides my ears hurting.'

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[25] Alternatively, they could be directly reconstructed from SIMULTANEOUS BUILD-UP tagmeme (cf. SIMULTANEOUS STEP tagmeme in Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 2.2)--although such a tagmeme has not been posited on the paragraph level. Nevertheless, consider the following hypothetical (but entirely plausible) paragraph where such a tagmeme is posited:

GROUND	FIGURE	
	Jim and Shirley were downtown for part of the afternoon today	BU_1
	Jim spent an hour in the Etruscan section of the Museum.	BU_2
While he was there	Shirley shopped for a new hat	Sim BU_2
When they both were ready to go home	they found that the car wouldn't start	BU_n

2.4.3.6 The Inibaloi Simultaneous Sentence

The Inibaloi Simultaneous Sentence has been mentioned before both in connection with the Coordinate Sentence and also with the Sequence Sentence. I have suggested that apparent examples of these two sentence types with medial jey might possibly be considered Simultaneous Sentences--as well as those explicitly labelled so by Lee Ballard. I mention here all subtypes of this sentence as described by Ballard even though some might more logically be grouped elsewhere. His first subtype he labels General; it is illustrated in the following two sentences:

Naka	panwingia	ni	abos	jey	naka	man-ekad.
I	look-at-over-shoulder		only		I	walking

'I just looked back at them over my shoulder as I walked on.'

Jet	kaongonong	jey	amam-ekad.
and	praying		walking

'And he was praying as he walked.'

The second subtype Ballard labels concessive; it encodes a situation "in which the events are parallel in time but lexically the second is a consideration in spite of which the event of Base 1 took place..." It seems, therefore, that the second subtype is derived by incorporation of the exponent of Concessive Margin with substitution of jey for the Relator. The following example is typical: mamabai ka jey w̃ara'y asaw̃am 'You're out after women and at the same time [= even though] you have a wife.' The third subtype encodes a situation "in which the events are simultaneous only in that Base 2 takes place at the end of the event of Base 1". The following example is typical of this type:

Diket	satan	na	bili,	w̃ara'y	pilmiro'n	asaw̃a	to,	sakey	ja
now	that		woman	was	first	husband	her	one	

anak	to,	jey	metey	i	asaw̃a	to'n	daki.
child	her		die		husband	he	man

'Now that woman had a husband and one child when her husband died.'

The fourth subtype is a question which seems to incorporate either a Circumstantial or a Time Margin as in the following:

Apay	nga	atey	jey	ayshi	to	sinekisekit?
why		died		nothing	he	was-sick-of

'Why did he die when (considering the fact that) he was not sick at all?'

It is evident here that simultaneity is (a) two coterminous and parallel activities; or (b) one event taking place during the time span of the other; or (c) one event taking place at the end of--but still within--the time span of the other. On the other hand the following translation of an example (subtype 2) associates two events that are balanced against each other as opposing considerations but which might otherwise indicate sequence: 'He threw the baby birds (into the caldron) and at the same time (in spite of the fact that) he hadn't killed them.' Note, however, that the possible prior event never took place; the second half of the sentence is equivalent to 'while they were still alive'.

It seems to me that most of Ballard's putative examples of *Sequence Sentences* which contain medial *jey* could be considered to be *Simultaneous Sentences*--granting the elastic definition of *simultaneity* just illustrated. I close this presentation of the Inibaloi *Simultaneous Sentence* with an example of *Sequence Sentence* (with medial *jet* 'and furthermore' rather than *asan* 'and then') in which the presence of embedded *Simultaneous Sentences* is probably indicated by the three occurrences of *jey*.[26] I follow with the example translated as by Ballard, then suggest at the end an alternative translation that attempts to give weight to the occurrence of *jet* versus *jey*.

Toka	pansakomelmeda	kono	jey	okbosen	to	kono	sota
she	pinning	heresay	—	unsheath	she	hearsay	the

etak	ka	abadeg	shi	bangew	nonta	bosol	jet	inmelmelmel
bolo		big	from	pack	of-the	headhunter	—	pounded-with

to	kono	nonta	bosol	jet	inalpeng,	jey	dimaw	ma	ali
she	hearsay	the	headhunter	—	unconscious	—	came		here

sota	sakey	kono'n	daki	ja	an	angatang	so	nen	si-kato	jet
the	one	hearsay	man		go-to	help			her	

inegshi	to	kono	ma	sota	sedi	nonta	bosol	jey	bedoren	to.
held	he	hearsay		the	legs	of-the	headhunter	—	tie-up	she

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[26] This is my own reinterpretation of Ballard's example. He considered it to be a simple *Sequence Sentence* in straightforward linear ordering with each *jet* and *jey* marking onset of a further *Base*. I have had no opportunity of checking this alternative analysis with him.

'She was holding him down and then she unsheathed the headhunter's big bolo from his pack, and she pounded him on the head with it, and he fell unconscious, and then a man came to help her, and he held the headhunter's legs, and she tied him up.'

My suggested alternative translation of this sentence is: 'While she was holding him down (*jey*) she unsheathed the headhunter's big bolo from his pack; and then (*jet*) she pounded him on the head with it; and then (*jet*) he fell unconscious --while at the same time (*jey*) a man came to help her; then (*jet*) he held the headhunter's legs while (*jey*) she tied him up.' It is evident in the incident reported that events so crowd on each other that the reporter has a certain option as to what he chooses to encode as successive or as simultaneous. At the same time it seems obvious that the woman did not let go of the man she was holding down while she unsheathed his bolo, nor did the man who later held him release his hold while she tied him up.

2.4.4 Incorporation of exponents of *Teleological Margins*

Many of the languages have a *Reason Sentence* which incorporates a *Cause Margin* or a *Purpose Margin* into the derived nucleus. Typically, the exponent of the margin is incorporated as the *Base 2* of the nucleus, and a *Marker* meaning 'reason', 'that's why' or something on this order is preposed to *Base 1*. The whole nucleus becomes then implicitly equative: 'The reason ...(is)...because/in order to...' or 'That's why...because/in order to...'.

2.4.4.1 *Reason Sentence* with preposed *Marker*

In Siocon Subanon a preposed *Marker* *sàan* 'reason' occurs. The *Relator* of the incorporated exponent of *Cause Margin* is *pò* 'because', and of the exponent of *Purpose Margin* is *bagon* 'so that':

Sàan	*bunùon*	*ta*	*amo*	*pò*	*dà*	*amo*	*pokulog*	*dini*.
reason	kill	we	you	because	not	you	go-away	here

'The reason we will kill you is because you did not go away from here.'

Dadi	*sàan*	*tolùon*	*ko*	*dianiu*	*long*	*nog*	*bogolal*	*dun*	*bagon*
so	reason	said	I	to you	said		council	it	so that

niu	*modongog*.
you	hear

'So the reason I'm telling you what the council said is so that you will hear (it).'

Not very different is the *Reason Sentence* in Ata Manobo. Here the preposed *Marker* is expounded by: *ian* (demonstrative-equative in force) 'that's'; *sikan* (similar); and *omuna-an* 'reason' 'that's why' (more emphatic). The *Relators* of the incorporated *Relator-Axis Sentences* are *su* 'because' (which may be weakened to the general relator *to* 'that'), and *oyow* 'in order to'.

Ian	*pa-an*	*dadagsò*	*kow*	*su*	*pamalii*.
	really	rise-together	you	because	bad-luck

'The reason you should get up together is because it is bad luck (not to).'

Ian	*na-an*	*igkabuì*	*din*	*su*	*ogkagaton*	*to*	*boliì*.
	really	live	he	because	bit	by	red-ant

'Really what revived him was because he was bitten by a red ant.'

Ian/*Omuna-an*	*oghimu*	*a*	*to*	*lamisan*	*oyow*	*du-on*	*ogko-onan*	*ta*.
emphasis/reason	make	I	a	table	so-that	there	eat-place	our

'The reason why I'm making a table is so that there will be a place for us to eat.'

Not essentially different are *Reason Sentences* in Atta Negrito, Inibaloi, Tausug, and Koronadal Bilaan. Some languages permit the initial *Marker* and *Base 1* to permute with the *Base 2* expounded by the *Relator-Axis Sentence*; this is in fact the more frequent order in Koronadal Bilaan as seen in the following two examples:

Du	*mdà*	*di*	*kafnge-gu*	*sasè*	*nawa*,	*duen-la*	*là*	*fatlang*	*deg*.
because			already-I	bad	life	reason-they	not	visit	me

'Since I was sick, they didn't visit me.'

Du	*fye*	*lê*	*kamgis*	*ge*,	*yè*	*duen-am*	*kmaan*.
so	that	again	strong	you		reason-you	eat

'Eat, so that you'll be strong again.'

2.4.4.2 *Reason Sentences* with deletion of *Relator* and/or *Marker*

In some languages the *Relator* of the incorporated *Relator-Axis Sentence* can be deleted, as in the following

Tausug example:[27]

Sabab	*siya*	*miyatay*	*(sabab)*	*nag-inum*	*siya*	*lachun*.
reason	he	died	because	drank	he	poison

'That's why he died, because he drank poison.'

In Inibaloi when a *Relator-Axis Sentence* is incorporated as the *Base 2* of a *Reason Sentence*, the *Relator* 'because' is obligatorily deleted while the *Relator* 'in order to' is optionally deleted.[28] In the following Inibaloi *Reason Sentence*, the particle 'because' is deleted according to this rule.

Say	*atajan*	*nonta*	*kawitan*,	*sota*	*kospag*	*to*.
	reason-to-die	the	cock	the	pride	his

'The reason why the cock died, it was his pride.'

In Balangao no *Marker* occurs and *Base 1* of the *Reason Sentence* is expounded by a relator-axis phrase whose axis may be a noun phrase or a nominalized clause, as in the first example below. Alternatively the *Base 1* may be expounded by a *Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence* (the usual exponent of *Conditional Margin*), as in the second example. In the latter case the *Reason Sentence* consists of two juxtaposed *Relator-Axis Sentences*: *Conditional RAS* + *Cause/Purpose RAS*.

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[27] In this example note that *sabab* as exponent of *Marker* attracts the pronoun (e.g. siya 'he') to an immediately following position, while *sabab* as exponent of *Relator* in the incorporated *Relator-Axis Sentence* does not attract the pronoun, (e.g. *siya* 'he' occurs following *nag-inum* 'drank'). Similarly, as mentioned under Sec. 1.3.3.1, *bat* as exponent of *Relator* meaning 'because' does not attract the pronoun but as exponent of *Relator* meaning 'in order to' does attract the pronoun. Actually nothing can be argued as to the relative degree of grammatical cohesion between such particles as *sabab* and *bat* and the following clause or embedded sentence on the grounds of attraction or nonattraction of the pronoun. An earlier draft of the Tausug sentence paper attempted to distinguish: (a) *Markers*, which do not attract pronouns from (b) *Relators*, which do attract pronouns. The attempt to distinguish *Markers* and *Relators* on this basis was finally given up in that it involved the analysis in contradiction. Attraction or non-attraction of pronouns is simply a feature of the surface structure of the morphotactics of the language.

[28] So many and varied are the Inibaloi elements which mean 'reason' or 'that's why' that Ballard sets up a Reason noun phrase with these words as head and the following clause as modifier: 'The reason that the cock died...' This whole noun phrase then expounds *Base 1*. A similar analysis is followed in Bontoc.

Hen	ummaliyannih	to,	ta	ilanni	dêyu.
the	come-we	here	so-that	see-we	you

'Our coming here was so we could see you.'

No	dan	ngalotoy	hen	bayah	te	ina	ano	enhòyong	hen
if		slimy	the	wine	because	go-he	reported	hug	the

bubae	hen	nanbongobongana.
girl	the	put-in-jar-he

'If his wine is slimy it's because he was "making out" with the girls when he put it in the jars.'

In Bontoc the structures are identical:

Nan	omayanmi	ad	Bontok,	ta	omalakamis	asin.
the	going-we	to	Bontoc	so-that	get-we-of	salt

'The reason we are going to Bontoc is to get some salt.'

Mo	insakit	nan	sikim,	tay	nanagtagka	ad	gogga.
if	sore	the	leg-your	because	ran-you	past	yesterday

'If your leg is sore it's because you ran yesterday.'

In Ata Manobo another sort of Reason Sentence occurs which has been termed Telic to distinguish it from the sentence type already described. This further sentence type completely deletes all Relators and Markers; the result is a juxtaposed sentence. Some examples--such as the first two below--seem to be derived from a Simple Sentence with a Cause Margin by deletion of the Relator meaning 'because'. Others--such as the third example seem to be derived from a Simple Sentence with a Purpose Margin.

Kona	a;	kaallok	a	to	ulod.
not	I	afraid	I	of	creature

'I won't (bathe); I'm afraid of creatures!'

Agpas	ka;	wado	ulod.
hurry	you	no	creature

'Hurry up; there aren't any creatures.'

Alikas,	samboy	a	to	ilab,	ighilas	ku	to	baluy.
Kunsay-I	borrow	I	a	knife	cut	I	the	mat-material

'Kunsay, I'll borrow a knife; I'll cut the mat-material (with it).'

2.4.4.3 Reason Sentence in Kalamian Tagbanwa

In Kalamian Tagbanwa the Reason Sentence is a somewhat different structure. It contains a Base 1, a medial Link qay 'for' and a Base 2 which is some sort of premise. The exponent qay of Link is non-specific in respect to cause, purpose, or circumstance; in fact various examples of Reason Sentence may be transformed to a Simple Sentence containing one of these margins (Cause Margin, Purpose Margin, Circumstantial Margin). I give below examples of Reason Sentences with the transforms just indicated:

Taa,	tanya	indi	nasindi	yang	sigarilyu	na	qay	anday
reason	he	negative	light		cigarette	his	for	no

puspuru	na.
matches	he

'Then, he was not able to light his cigarette for he didn't have any matches.'

The above may be transformed to a Simple Sentence plus Cause Margin, e.g.

Taa,	tanya	indi	nasindi	yang	sigarilyu	na	purki	anday
reason	he	negative	light		cigarette	his	because	no

puspuru	na.
matches	he

'Then, he was not able to light his cigarette because he had no matches.'

Namampanunut	duun	qay	mamamati.
accompany	there	for	listen

'They all went along in a group there for they were all going to listen.'

Transformed to Simple Sentence plus Purpose Margin, e.g.

Namampanunut	duun	ugud	mamamati.
accompany	there	so-that	listen

'They all went along in a group so they could all listen.'

Taa	anda	ray	maimu	u	qay	duun	naw	ra	tung	barutu	pagnunut.
reason	none	now	do	I	for	there	I	now	in	boat	accompanying

'Then, there was nothing I could do about it for there I was already in the boat going along with them.'

Transformed to Simple Sentence plus Circumstantial Margin, e.g.

Taa,	anda	ray	maimu	u	kumu	duun	naw	ra	tung	barutu	pagnunut.
reason	none	now	do	I	since	there	I	now	in	boat	accompanying

'Then, there was nothing I could do about it since there I was already in the boat going along with them.'

2.4.4.4 Reason Sentences which incorporate Cause but not Purpose Margin

A few languages--noticeably four of the Manobo complex--have a sentence similar to the run-of-mill Reason Sentences described above but with incorporation only of Causal Relator-Axis Sentences. Thus, in the Ilianen Manobo Reason Sentence there is a Marker expounded by sabap 'therefore', tembu' 'that's why', and tuus te 'evidence of'; a Base 1; and a Base 2 expounded by a Causal Relator-Axis Sentence.

Sabap	nevilanggu'	ka	su	ke	uleula	nu	ne	meraat.
therefore	jailed	you	because	the	custom	your	which	bad

'That's why you were jailed because of your bad actions.'

Sabap	kurang	ke	sakit	su	nesuhat	te	kenduli'.
that's-why	lessened	the	sickness	because	hit	by	ceremony

'That's why the sickness lessened, it was taken care of by the ceremony.'

In Dibabawon Manobo the structure of the Explanative Sentence is identical with that just illustrated for Ilianen Manobo. The Marker is expounded by gin-anow 'that's why' plus or minus some following particles:

Gin-anow	napilì	day	no	og-ugpa-an	su	madoyow
that's-why	chose	they	ligature	residence	because	good

na-an	no	banwa	diyà	to	Nasulì.
particle	ligature	place	there	relator	Nasuli

'No wonder that's the place they chose to live because it's really a lovely place there at Nasuli.'

The Reason-Action Sentence of Western Bukidnon Manobo is also very similar to the above. Marker is expounded by iyan (somewhat demonstrative and equative), or iyan plus the word for 'reason' (and a few further particles), or umba 'therefore'. The incorporated Causal Relator-Axis Sentence may weaken its su 'because' to the ligature is.

Iyan	*ketezengan*	*he*	*maan*	*is*	*waze*	*kay*	*makeuli*
emphasis	reason	ligature	why		not		able-to-go-home

su	*mid-uzan*.
because	rained

'The reason why we were not able to come home is because it rained.'

The *Reason Sentence* of Binukid (Manobo) incorporates an exponent of *Cause Margin* as *Base 2*. This incorporated element is preceded by: (a) a *Formula* consisting of *hinengdan* 'reason' preceded by *iyan* 'equative/demonstrative' or simply *sa* 'the'; (b) a sign *ha* 'that'; and (c) *Base 1* expounded by independent clause.

Iyan	*hinengdan*	*ha*	*igpakalikù*	*ku*	*dà*	*dini*	*ta*	*diyà*
it-is	reason	that	return	I	particle	here	because	there

ta	*didalem*	*ta*	*dagat*	*bibu*	*diyà*.
in	deep	in	sea	lively	there

'The reason I returned here is that there in the depths of the sea it's very lively.'

Sa	*hinengdan*	*ha*	*impakaulì*	*day*	*dini*	*na*	*iyan*	*tungkay*
the	reason	that	went-home	we	here	conjunction	it-is	very

malegen	*sa*	*panginabuhì*	*day*	*ta*...
difficult	the	living	our	because

'The reason we made our home here was that our life was hard because...'

In Dibabawon Manobo, Jannette Forster posits not only the *Explanative Sentence* described above but also an *Equational Sentence*. *Marker* is expounded by *iyan* and exponents of *Cause* and *Time Margins* are found among the varied exponents of *Base 2*.

Iyan	*impatawag*	*ku*	*ikow*	*su*	*ikow*	*nandà*	*to*	*nasamà*
it-is	had-call	I	you	because	you	only	relator	remain

no	*bawbatà*.
ligature	bachelor

'The reason that I had you called is because you are the only young man left.'

Iyan	*in-andini*	*ku*	*su*	*nigka-at*	*a*	*iyu*.
it-is	came	I	because	pitied	I	you

'The reason I came is because I pitied you.'

Dini	*kanami*,	*iyan*	*paghipanow*	*ta*	*ko*	*ogdakoo*	*to*	*udan*.
here	us	it-is	going	we	when	big	relator	rain

'Here in our place, the time we go [pig-hunting] is when it rains a lot.'

Aborlan Tagbanwa has a *Contingent Sentence* which is structurally identical with these Manobo *Reason Sentences*. The preposed *Marker* is *yapà* 'then' or *purisu* (Spanish *por eso*) 'reason

Yapà	*medek*	*akut*	*pa-yu*	*ka*	*pagkelgen*	*aku*	*na*.
then	stop	I	bathe	because	chill	I	

'Since I am chilled I stop bathing.'

Yapà	*mulì*	*ka*	*na-ubus*	*nay*	*bauten*.
then	return	because	finished		work

'Since the work is finished then I will return home.'

2.4.4.5 Incorporation of exponents of *Circumstantial Margin*

Several languages have sentence nuclei that can possibly be explained as derived by incorporation of *Circumstantial Margin* with deletion of the *Relator* of the *Circumstantial Relator-Axis Sentence.* This would seem to be a plausible explanation for the Tausug *Juxtaposed Sentence* illustrated in following two examples:

Limugay	*siya*	*duun*	*nahilu*	*siya*.
long-time	he	there	dizzy	he

'When he had been there a long time he became dizzy.'

Duun	*na*	*sila*	*nagtitiyaun*	*burus*	*na*	*in*	*asawa*.
there		they	married	pregnant			wife

'When they were there in the married state, the wife was pregnant.'

The Bontoc *Circumstance-Result Sentence* is similar but has an optional interposed *Link* expounded by *ya* or *et*.

Wadas	*Ballong*	*et*	*walo*	*nan*	*pinateyda*.
there-is	Ballong	link	eight	the	killed-they

'Ballong was there, so they killed eight.'

Binodasanda	*nan*	*ginab-onana*	*ya*	*ballitok*.
uncovered-they	the	covered-he	and	gold

'They uncovered what he had covered, it was gold.'

A similar *Link* expounded by *ya(g)* 'and' or *wat* 'result in' occurs in the Balangao *Result 2 Sentence*:

Enhohoopna	*yag*	*tayeyna*	*way*	*ammay*.
joined-he	link	g-string-his	attributive	good

'He joined them; it became a beautiful g-string.'

Ini	*ibual*	*dida*	*wat*	*duwa*	*hen*	*inalani*.
go-we	chase	them	link	two	the	got-we

'We chased them out and two is how many we got.'

In the *Implication*[29] order of Agta sentences, Roy Mayfield distinguished two types, both of which are possibly derived from incorporation of exponents of *Circumstantial Margin* with deletion of the *Relator* from the *Relator-Axis Sentence* and with the addition of certain lexical restrictions. One of these types, the *Dubitative Sentence* has an interposed *Link* expounded by *awa* or *bakawa* 'since', 'seeing that'. It's *Base 1* has either "(a) interrogative clause; (b) occurrence of the particle *hud* indicating doubt; (c) occurrence of a negative; or (d) an exclamation of doubt or disbelief." I assume that the *Base 2*, which is uniformly positive, is the functional slot in which the *Circumstantial Relator-Axis Sentence* embeds (with deletion of its *Relator*). Of the two exponents of *Link*, *bakawa* necessarily co-occurs with any interrogative clause that expounds *Base 1*; elsewhere the two exponents of *Link* are apparently interchangeable.

Pā-pa-nun	*na*	*makatugut*	*bakawā*	*natahengkāyun*.
how	he	able-to-walk	since	supported-by-wood

'How can he walk seeing that he is propped up on wood (i.e. crutches).'

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[29] This is not the same as Mayfield's *Condition* order of sentences where he posits *General*, *Contrary to Fact*, and *Concessive Sentences*.

Awek	*hud*	*āmu*	*bakawā*	*āmuk*	*paha*	*lā*.
not-I	(doubt)	know	since	know-I	yet	only

'It is true that I don't know when in fact I do know?'

The Agta *Development Sentence* is less restricted lexically. Roy Mayfield terms the first *Base* the *Situation* tagmeme and the second the *Eventuation*. He writes: "The *Eventuation* tagmeme involves an event or condition which is the accidental, natural, or intended development of the situation involved in the *Situation* tagmeme." The medial *Link* is expounded by *awa te* 'result that', 'so'. Here it is the first *Base*, the *Situation* tagmeme, in which the *Circumstantial Relator-Axis Sentence* with the deleted *Relator* is assumed to embed.

Kanāyun	*nagtakit*	*ya*	*abbing*	*en*	*awā*	*te*	*nepasina*	*hapa*.
always	sick		child	(the)	so		died-he	also

'The child was constantly sick and eventually died of it.'

Ānu	*hamān*	*nagduma*	*ya*	*iffut*	*na*	*manuk*	*ina*	*awā*	*te*	*nakusukusu*.
why		different		tail		chicken	that	so		complete mess

'Why is that chicken's tail different so that it's all messed up?'

Jannette Forster posits in Dibabawon Manobo an *Inference 1 Sentence* which looks as if it might be explained as an exponent of *Circumstantial Margin* juxtaposed to an exponent of *Cause Margin*. The second *Base* consists indeed of a *Causal Relator-Axis Sentence*. The first *Base*, however, contains neither *mano* nor *kumu* (Spanish loan *como*), the *Relators* found in *Circumstantial Relator-Axis Sentences*, but rather the unique particle *agaw* 'since'. In considering, then, that the first *Base* of this sentence is derived from the exponent of a *Circumstantial Margin*, we assume that the incorporated element is a unique exponent of that margin--an exponent now found only in the derived nucleus here described.

(*Kagi*	*sikan*	*ambaw*,)	"*Agaw*	*man*	*og-ikagi*	*su*	*otow*."
word	relator	mouse	since	particle	speak	because	person

'The mouse said, "Since I am talking it must be because I am a person".'

Hingow	*kad*	*kay*	*buwa*	*agaw*	*man*	*og-aboy*	*ka*	*og-ikagi*.
drunk	you	particle	maybe	since	particle	keep-on	you	speak

lagi	*no*	*mahonok-honok*	*ka*	*man*	*no*	*otow*.
friend	ligature	silent	you	particle	ligature	person

'You must be drunk since you keep on talking, friend, you who are a silent person.'

Balangao has a *Recurrent Action Sentence* consisting of two *Bases* joined by a *Link en* 'recur'. Joanne Shetler describes this sentence type: "*Base 1* presents a setting, circumstance, time, etc. when the action in *Base 2* recurs." Many of the examples seem to include an exponent of *Circumstantial Margin* with deleted *Relator* but other examples probably incorporate a *Time Margin* or even a *Sentence Topic* (cf. the end of 2.4.3.4).

(*Ekat*	*hen*	*tatagu*	*én*,)	*anggay*	*hen*	*oklong*	*én*	*natég-ahan*
said	the	people	signal	just	the	craving	link	injure

di	*ahawa*.
that	spouse

'(People will say) she has a whim; he suffers injury to fulfil it [implying every time the whim comes up].'

Man-ughongà	*ah*	*dala*	*én*	*ammag*	*dual*	*di*	*udan*.
look-down-I		outside	link	intense	much	that	rain

'Every time I look outside, there's so much rain.'

Ah	*wakas*	*én*	*ummudan*.
	tomorrow	link	rain

'Every day it rains.'

Ulay	*ah*	*Ina*	*én*	*nankela*.
even		mother	link	cry

'Even mother, she cried (as well as others).'

2.4.5 Incorporation of exponents of *Implicational Margins*.

I have already discussed in 1.3.4.1 the respective merits of analysis of conditional strings as *Conditional Margin* plus nucleus versus *Conditional Sentences* (with *Protasis* and *Apodosis* tagmemes in the nucleus). I suggested there that general, unspecialized conditions might better be analyzed as the former. This eliminates the *General Condition Sentence* as posited e.g. in Binukid (Manobo), Kalamian Tagbanwa, Agta, and Atta Negrito. In the first two languages no sort of balancing particle occurs between the putative *Protasis* and *Apodosis* nor is there any more lexical restriction between the two than we might expect in any margin-nucleus combination. In the latter two languages a *Ligature* tagmeme (cf 1.2.5) occurs between the putative *Protasis* and *Apodosis*, but this is a non-distinctive element that occurs between certain preposed margins and the nucleus rather than a specific, counterbalancing particle of the sort that attracts the exponent of a margin into the nucleus.

2.4.5.1 Derived *Conditional Sentences*

By contrast, the *Conditional Sentence* posited in Ata Manobo seems genuinely to involve attracting the exponent of the *Conditional Margin* into the nucleus. An interposed *Marker* expounded by *ian* 'that's', *songo* 'even so', and *su* 'then' (rather than with its usual meaning of 'because') occurs before the *Apodosis*--resulting in a clear 'if...then' balancing of particles.[30] Furthermore, this is parallel in Ata Manobo to other sentence types in which *Time*, *Purpose*, and *Cause Margins* are also attracted into the nucleus.

Ko	*gustu*	*ku*	*ogbayad*	*a*	*to*	*dakol*	*songo*	*ogpabogoy*	*a*	*to*	*dakol*.
if	desire	I	pay	I		lot	even-so	cause-give	I		lot

'If I want to pay a lot, I'll also have a lot given to me.'

Ko	*ogsalig*	*kow*	*kanak*	*su*	*kanak*	*do*	*ka*	*ogko-on*.
if	leave	you	to-me	then	I	only	the	eat

'Since you leave it all to me (to do), then I'll just be the one to eat.'

In Koronadal Bilaan a *General Conditional Sentence* occurs with an interposed *Marker* expounded by *na*. It seems clear that *na* 'and' is here a *Marker* and not simply a *Ligature* between a margin and the nucleus in that it does not have the latter distribution before (e.g.) *Time Margin* or *Circumstance Margin*. When *na* is not present, a *Conditional Margin* plus nucleus results. Norman and Doris Abrams argue that there is a semantic difference between the *Conditional Sentence* with its medial *na* and the *Conditional Margin* plus nucleus (without *na*).[31] I quote from the Abrams':

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[30] In the absence of the *Marker* it is assumed that a *Conditional Margin* plus nucleus occurs.

[31] This reflects my interpretation of the Abrams' paper. They set up both a *Concessive Margin* and a *Concessive Sentence* with an interposed *Marker gabay* 'anyway' occurring only in the latter. They say that deletion of this *Marker* reduces a *Concessive Sentence* to a *Concessive Margin* plus nucleus. In the case of *Conditional Sentences* they allow deletion of the medial *Marker na* but do not consider that this reduces the sequence to a *Conditional Margin* plus nucleus; they do not in fact set up a *Conditional Margin* at all. I believe that my reinterpretation of this portion of their paper is more consistent with the other parts of it.

"For example, in *Conditional Sentences*, *ku* 'if' must occur with the *Protasis* which is highlighted if variable *na* 'then' is deleted from its position before the *Apodosis*. If *na* is retained, the highlight is on the *Apodosis*. Example:

Ku	*meteng*	*gamo*,	*na*	*ye*	*btas-gu*	*i*	*ungad*	*lwe*	*filak*	*skilu*.
if	charge	you	then	that	price-my		meat	two	pesos	kilo

'If you charge it, then the price will be two pesos a kilo.'

"The highlight is on the price charged when *na* occurs. If *na* is deleted, the highlight will be on the 'charging' of the meat (*Protasis*)."

In Ilianen Manobo and Western Bukidnon Manobo --in both of which a *Conditional Margin* is also posited--there occurs what Jean Shand (Ilianen Manobo) terms a *Specific Conditional Sentence*. In both languages there is a *Protasis* expounded by a *Relator-Axis Sentence* with *Relator* expounded by *ke*, the ambiguous 'if/when' particle. The *Apodosis* is expounded in Ilianen Manobo by Relator-Axis Clause (not sentence, see Sec. 1) of temporal or concessive import; the former has the *Relator wey* 'when'; the latter has the *Relator minsan*/*misa*/*apey* 'even though'. In Ilianen Manobo the implication is negative--although overt negatives are not employed. In Western Bukidnon Manobo apparently this negative implication is absent--but this may be merely a quirk of translation into English. The first two examples below are Ilianen Manobo; the latter two are Western Bukidnon Manobo :

Misan	*kew*	*ukasi*	*ke*	*egkevulung*	*kew*	*en*	*neraan*.
even	you	killed	if	satisfied	you	now	already

'(Even if you are killed, if you are already full.) Don't go to be killed without getting full first.'

Wey	*ad*	*ed-ilutu'*	*ke*	*egkevitil*	*a*.
when	I	cook	if	hungry	I

'(When I cook, if I am hungry.) I will not cook until I am hungry.'

Wey zey en heini edtuluya ke ed-ulì key.
relator we completive this stop-by-for when go-home we

'We will stop by for this when we go home.'

Wey zà egkaan ke zuen begas.
relator only eat-he if there-is rice

'He only eats if there is rice.'

In Bontoc there is a specialized variety of Conditional Sentence which consists in juxtaposing two Conditional Relator-Axis Sentences--i.e. in juxtaposing two similar exponents of Conditional Margin. Pursuant to its situational use, this sentence type is termed by Lawrence Reid the Hortatory Sentence.

Mo way mangwani en, "Indan-as," siya mo domakalka
if there-is saying quote dang-as-work it if go-out-you

ta kidang-aska.
so-that join-dang-as-you

'If someone says, "We'll do dang-as work," you should go out to join in the dang-as work.'

Mo sino nan ed-edda nan gedayna, kanana en, "Saaket
if who the much the slide-his say-he quote future-I

indang-as," sa mo kidang-aska.
dang-as that if join-dang-as-you

'Whoever has a large landslide, and he says, "I'll have the dang-as work group," you should join the dang-as.'

In Siocon Subanon, there is a specialized type of Conditional Sentence which has a further alternative implication. William Hall therefore terms it Alternative Conditional Sentence. A medial Marker expounded by ati 'then' attracts the exponent of margin into the nucleus. Furthermore, the Protasis must be negative.

Bug dàidun putì ati gitom.
if none white then black

'If there are no white ones then black ones.'

Buk konà ni Kano ati si Mantaw.
if not Kano then Mantaw

'If it is not Kano then it is Mantaw.'

In Ata Manobo, there is a type of Conditional Sentence which is derived by deleting the Relator of the Relator-Axis Sentence which expounds the Conditional Margin; the resulting Juxtaposed Conditional Sentence may encode a general condition or a contrary to fact condition. Aside from the use of this sentence in riddles, some speakers are apologetic about its use and feel that it is only semi-acceptable. The first two examples below are riddles; the third is not. In the first example this sentence type expounds the two Bases of an Antithetical Sentence:

Balubatò	no	songo	gatus,	ogsonog	konò	ogpakalobog;
bachelor		one	hundred	(if) immerse	not	muddy-water

ogsonob	to	sagboka,	ogpakalobog.
(if) immerse		one	muddy-water

'As for one hundred bachelors, (if) they dip in, the water isn't muddied; (but) (if) dips one (bachelor), the water is muddied.' [the answer is 'a spoon']

Homoy	ogtiukon;	konò	ogka-awò.
rice	pierces	not	be-able-to-get-out

'As for the rice, (if) it pierces, it cannot be removed.' [the answer is 'lice']

Kamatoy	a	konà	a	ogsinogow.
die	I	not	I	cry

'(If) I should die I wouldn't cry.'

In Inibaloi there is a specialized variety of Conditional Sentence that is somewhat temporal in import. Lee Ballard terms it a Contingency Sentence. It contains an interposed Marker asan 'and then', which is the same element found in the Sequence Sentence. If its first Base 1 is expounded by an independent clause, a further initial Marker expounded by ampet 'unless' may occur. If its Base 1 is expounded by a Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence this further Marker does not occur and the Base 1 must permute to follow Base 2.

Ampet	memshit	ka,	asan	moka	olopa.
unless	feast	you	then	you	take-along

'First you must celebrate peshit, and then you can take her with you.'

Asan	nak	mengasaw̃a	no	w̃ara'y	pilak	ko.
then	I	marry	when	is	money	my

'Then I will marry when I have some money.'

Asan	ka	man-esek	nem	Abril	ali.
then	you	plant	when	April	come

'Then you should plant when next April comes.'

2.4.5.2 Conditional Sentences with special lexical constraints

Some specialized varieties of Conditional Sentence that occur in Itneg, Atta Negrito, Balangao, and Bontoc bring exponents of Conditional Margin into the nucleus not by adding a cross-referencing and counterbalancing particle (as illustrated) but by special co-occurrence and lexical restriction between the Protasis and the Apodosis. The distribution of negatives and interrogatives is important in these types.

In Atta Negrito the Rhetorical Conditional Sentence has a postposed negative Protasis and a preposed interrogative Apodosis; the result is a variety of rhetorical question.

Asinni	yù	dakalam	mi	nu	ari	sikaw	nga	yáma	mi?
who	the	parent	our	if	not	you	link	father	our

'Who is our parent if not you who are our father?'

Anni	gabba	ubobugak	ku	nu	ari	yaw	natakì	nikán?
what	now	talk	my	if	not	this	sickness	of-mine

'What would I talk about now if I hadn't had this sickness?'

In Itneg the Exclusive Sentence has postposed negative Protasis and a preposed negative Apodosis.

Naid	to	ta	pagbanagan	yo	ta	mag-asawa,	no	adi	kakaasi.
none	the		result	you	in	marriage	if	not	pity

'There will be no result to your marriage, if you have no pity.'

Naid	ta	ama	mi,	no	adi	dika.
none	the	father	us	if	not	you

'We have no father, if not you.'

In Bontoc and Balangao there is an Exclusive Conditional Sentence which has a postposed negative Protasis and a preposed negative or interrogative Apodosis. The first two examples are Bontoc; the latter two are Balangao.

Maid	kasin	gawis	mo	adi	si	Diyos	(nan	gawis).
none	again	good	if	not	the	God	the	good

'None other is good if not God.'

Sino	ngen	nan	as	omey	mo	adiyak	(nan	omey)?
who		the		go	if	negative-I	the	go

'Who will go, if not I?'

Maid	kasen	emey	no	baen	hea.
none	again	go	if	negative	you

'There's no one else to go but you.'

Ay	waday	manggagga-ay	no	baen	ah	Lynn.
question	is	visit	if	negative		Lynn

'If anyone's gone off visiting, it's Lynn.'

In Bontoc a further type of specialized Conditional Sentence occurs which Lawrence Reid terms the Chance Conditional Sentence. The Apodosis is obligatorily non-past; the Relator in the Relator-Axis Sentence of the Protasis is reinforced with certain following particles.

Mo	enetkamit	adi	mangan	sid-i,	as	omalikamis	na	
if	lest-we	negative	eat	there	future	come-we-to	here	
ay	mangan.							
link	eat							

'If by chance we do not eat there, we will come here to eat.'

Mangankayo,	mo	enet	adi	komaan	nan	bositayo.
eat-you	if	lest	negative	leave	the	visitors-yours

'You eat, in case your visitors don't leave.'

2.4.5.3 Specialized Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentences

I turn now to specialized conditional sentences of contrary to fact import. In Ilianen Manobo there is a Negative Conditional Sentence that has a negative in both Bases; it is clearly a contrary to fact condition in past time.

Wara'	ded	mevinsuli	ke	valey	ke	wara'	ka	nekeruma.
not	yet	burned	the	house	if	not	you	accompany

'The house would not have burned if you had not come along.'

Wara'	a	nekepehimbenar	ke	wara'	a	nekekita.
not	I	believed	if	not	I	saw

'I would not have believed it if I had not seen it.'

In Dibabawon Manobo the Inference 2 Sentence reinforces the ko 'if' of the Protasis with a preposed lamanon 'implication/inference' and interposes su 'then' (basically meaning 'because') before the Apodosis.

Lamanon	man	ko	og-abut	on	kunto-on	su
imply	particle	if	arrive	time particle	today	because

datong	on	man	(dì	wadà).
reach	time particle	particle	but	none

'It would have been if he were coming today that he would have arrived, (but he didn't).'

Ho-o	Jose,	lamanon	ko	pinalanggà	a	pad	ni	Amà	su	konà
yes	Jose	imply	if	cherish	I	yet		father	because	not

ki	man	ogbugawan,	(ogpasoodon	ki	dà	man	to
we	particle	drive	let-enter	we	particle	particle	relator

baoy	din).
house	his

'Yes, Jose, it is evident that if I were still the dearly beloved of Father we would not be driven out, (he would have let us enter his house).'

In Atta Negrito, the Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence has an obligatory past tense in the Protasis plus a further feature: a negative and/or the word nakuan 'would' in the Apodosis.

Nu	awánà	paga	tà	atáwa	á	maninganà	nakuan.
if	none-I	yet	the	wife	then	look-I	would

'If I didn't already have a wife, I would look at you.'

Ari	nakuan	natakatakì	si	Apay	nu	ariák	ku	nelappák
not	would	got-sick	marker	Apay	if	didn't	I	slapped

talingá	na.
ear	her

'Apay wouldn't have gotten sick if I hadn't slapped her ear.'

Ariák	*ku*	*ilímak*	*á*	*nu*	*kingnguá*	*rangà*.
won't	I	hide	conjunction	if	did	

'I wouldn't hide it if they had done something to me.'

In Bontoc a *Subjunctive Sentence* has a medial *Marker* expounded by three particles; a *Protasis* expounded by either a *Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence* with a reinforced *Relator* or by a lexically restricted clause or phrase (containing an auxiliary or particle meaning 'should'). The result is a contrary to fact condition in present or future time. In the first two examples below the *Protasis* is expounded by a *Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence* whose *Relator* *mo* 'if' is reinforced with the particle *sa* 'that'. In the last example the *Protasis* is expounded by a phrase containing *koma* 'should'.

Sa	*mo*	*naanoska*	*esak*	*egwal*.
that	if	kind-you	link-I	give

'If you were kind, then I would give it you.'

Sa	*mo*	*sik-a*,	*ya*	*lalaydena*	*ay*	*omali*.
that	if	you	and	like-he	link	come

'If it were you, then he would like to come.'

Sa	*pay*	*koma*	*ta*	*omali*.
that	moreover	should	so-that	come

'It would be good if he were to come.'

In Itneg the formulaic *sapay* 'hope' or *sapay odoy* 'hope really' is preposed to an exponent of *Conditional Margin* to make a *Supposition Sentence* meaning 'It's as if...'

Sapay	*no*	*IMainit*	*sita*	*nga*	*babai*.
hope	if	from-Mainit	this		girl

'It's as if this girl were from Mainit (but she isn't).'

Sapay	*odoy*	*no*	*adi*	*siya*	*sit*	*masama*	*kanta*.
hope	really	if	not	that	the	make	that

'It's as if he did not do that (but he did).'

2.4.5.4 Status of other *Contrary to Fact Conditions*

In several languages *Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentences* are posited without any such special features as those described above. Richard Elkins argues as follows in favor of considering such implicational strings to be nuclear patterns rather than sequences of *Conditional Margin* plus nucleus. I quote at length from him:

> "A *Condition Contrary to Fact Sentence* contrasts with a sentence nucleus accompanied by a *Conditional Margin* in that the time aspect of the *Protasis* of the *Condition Contrary to Fact Sentence* is restricted to past and in that the positive-negative values of the *Protasis* and *Apodosis* of the *Condition Contrary to Fact Sentence* are to be understood as the opposite (or beta value) of the overt wording. The time aspect of a *Conditional Margin* is unrestricted, and the *Conditional Margin* and nucleus do not necessarily have a beta value. The following examples illustrate the beta value in a *Condition Contrary to Fact Sentence* as opposed to the indeterminate alpha value (no positive-negative reversal) versus beta value in a *Conditional Margin* with a nucleus.
>
> *Condition Contrary to Fact Sentence*:
>
> | *Base* (*Protasis*) | | | | *Base* (*Apodosis*) | | | | |
> |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
> | (*Ke* | *mibpesipelahan* | *a* | *keniyu*) | (*ne* | *kène* | *kew* | *geina* | *egkeluwas*.) |
> | if | insulted | me | you | conjunction | not | you | past | saved |
>
> 'If you had insulted me, you wouldn't have been saved.'
>
> "*Base* (*Protasis*) of the above sentence, *mibpesipelahan a keniyu* 'you insulted me', entails the opposite information: 'you did not insult me'. *Base* (*Apodosis*), *kenè kew geina egkeluwas* 'you were not saved', entails the information: 'you were saved'.
>
> "*Conditional Margin* with a nucleus:
>
> | *CondM* | | | | Nucleus | | |
> |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
> | (*Ke* | *ebpesipelahan* | *a* | *kaniyu*) | (*kenè* | *kew* | *egkeluwas*). |
> | if | insult | me | you | not | you | saved |
>
> "The alpha versus beta value of both margin and nucleus in the above example is indeterminate. No further information is necessarily entailed. Presumably the wording can imply its opposite ('If you don't insult me, you will be saved.'), but this beta value need not be understood to the exclusion of the alpha value expressed in the original wording."

It seems to me that Elkins has made about as strong a case as can be made for considering contrary to fact conditions of such structure to be nuclear patterns. Not only in Western Bukidnon Manobo, but also in Kalamian Tagbanwa, Aborlan Tagbanwa, Atta Negrito, and Agta *Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentences* have been posited--presumably for reasons similar to those argued by Elkins. It remains, however, that such structures are less solidly established as sentence patterns than are more specialized structures in which the overt structure of the *Apodosis*--as well as that of the *Protasis*--is modified. At this point, it seems to me that questions of system symmetry might well be considered in deciding the analysis in a given language. Procedurally this means: (1) Reject as nuclear patterns all putative *General Conditional Sentences* of unspecialized structure; (2) Accept as nuclear patterns all such specialized structures (as illustrated). (3) Accept the contrary to fact condition with specialized structure in only the *Protasis* as a nuclear pattern only when other specialized *Conditional Sentence* patterns exist to parallel it. I apply this now to Western Bukidnon Manobo and Agta as exemplifying two different situations.

In Western Bukidnon Manobo no *General Conditional Sentence* of unspecialized pattern is posited: rather such strings are considered to consist of *Conditional Margin* plus sentence nucleus. A *Specific Conditional Sentence* is, however, posited and has already been described and exemplified. The system of Western Bukidnon Manobo sentences seems to be a two-tiered system, i.e. sentences come in pairs. It therefore seems plausible to accept the *Contrary to Fact Conditional Sentence* into the system to fill what would otherwise be a lacuna in the system. Two examples of this sentence type follow:

Su	*emun*	*wazè*	*heazà*	*medlepew*	*is*	*etew*	*ne*	*wazè*
for	if	not	that	appeared		person	conjunction	not

meamin	*heazà*	*is*	*talad*.
be-all-gone	that		shares

'For if that person hadn't appeared, then the shares wouldn't have been all taken.'

Angin	*ke*	*wazè*	*niyu*	*zuma*	*he*	*egkekilala*	*zey*
would-that	if	not	you	companion	ligature	recognize	we

edhimetayan	*dey*	*en*	*sikiyu*.
kill	we	completive	you

'If you had no companions which we recognize, we would kill you.'

In Agta a General Conditional Sentence is posited. For reasons already given I reject this as a sentence type and reinterpret it as a sequence of Conditional Margin plus nucleus. For similar reasons I reject the Concessive Sentence in favor of a sequence of Concessive Margin plus nucleus. The Agta sentence system is a three-tiered system, i.e. sentences come in groups of three. If we accept the Contrary to Fact Sentence after having rejected the General Conditional and Concessive Sentences, then the Contrary to Fact Sentence stands isolated in a column with two lacuna. The system observed elsewhere in Agta suggests that we abolish the whole Conditional column with its three sentences. We therefore decide on systemic grounds not to accept a Contrary to Fact Sentence in Agta. How, then, do we analyze contrary to fact implicational strings in Agta? Such strings differ from general conditions (consisting of a Conditional Margin plus nucleus) in several particulars: (a) the Contrary to Fact Conditional Margin occurs only post-nuclear never pre-nuclear (as does the General Conditional Margin); (b) This Margin must be expounded by a structure characterized by negation and past tense. This means that we need to set up two Conditional Margins, the General and the Contrary to Fact which differ in placement in the linear string and in internal composition. Examples follow of Agta sentences which contain this suggested Contrary to Fact Margin:

Awena	minā	napadday	na	lutak	in	am	awā	pinadday	na	Namarātu.
not-it	would	be-made		earth	(the)	if	not	made		God

'The earth would not have been made if God had not made it.'

Mali-māng	minā	ya	weh	en	am	awa	nagudān.
clear	would		creek	(the)	if	not	rained

'The creek would be clear if it had not rained.'

2.4.5.5 Incorporation of exponents of Concessive Margin

As with the putative General Conditional Sentence--which we have suggested might better be considered to be a Conditional Margin plus sentence nucleus--so putative Concessive Sentences of a general, unspecialized nature without a distinctive Link or special lexical cross-reference, are here also considered to be Concessive Margin plus nucleus. Thus, the following Agta string has nothing distinctive about it that would indicate its being considered to be a sentence nucleus; the medial ā is simply a nondistinctive ligature occurring after prenuclear margins.

"Māski	awān	kid	ā	dumagdag	kid	sangaw,"	kun	ku
even	none	they	conjunction	follow	they	later	said	I

hapa.
also

'"Even though they aren't here they will follow later," I said.'

Māski	am	ānu	ya	uhohugan	na	kasātolay	mu	awemuy
even	if	what		speak		fellow-man	you	not-you (plural)

tabtabbāgān.
answer

'Whatever your fellow man says to you (in abuse) don't reply to it.'

In several languages Concessive Sentences are posited. The exponent of the Concessive Margin is drawn into the nucleus by virtue of the presence of a counterbalancing interposed particle meaning something on the order of 'but' or 'still'. The following Koronadal Bilaan examples are typical:

Balù	mlungay	agu	tlabu	agu	galabek.
although	tired	I	still	I	work

'Although I'm tired, still I'll work.'

Balù	ta	beg	labi,	gabay	fye	fa.
although	already	quite	old	anyway	good	still

'Although it's quite old, anyway it's still good.'

Not dissimilar is the Concessive Sentence in Kalamian Tagbanwa where the Spanish loan piru expounds the interposed Link.

Basing	maning	tiang	pagkabetang,	piru	maayen	ka	yang	nirang
although	like	that	state	yet	good			their

mga	pagbanwa.
plural	villaging

'Even though their state is like that (poor), yet their barrio activities are also good.'

Masking	gesye	ilem	yang	luak	na	piru	indi	padangep	tung
even-if	small	only		plants		but	negative	seek-aid	from

mga	aruman	na.
plural	companion	his

'Even if he doesn't have many plants, yet he doesn't seek aid from his companions.'

In Atta Negrito there is a Concessive Sentence: (1) with interposed non-distinctive ligature a but with la 'still', 'only' in the Apodosis; (2) without ligature but with paga 'yet' in the Apodosis; (3) with interposed ta normally meaning 'because' here used to mean 'still', nevertheless'.

Mássiki	awát	ta	baggá,	á	ajjal	lâ.
even-though	none	the	rice		there-is	still

'Even though there is no rice, there is still (food).'

Mássiki	anni	kinamengal	mu,	egga	paga	yù	mengal
even-though	what	invincibility	your	there-is	yet	the	invincible

ngam	sikaw.
than	you

'Whatever your powers of invincibility, there is someone more invincible than you.'

Mássiki	mánaw	ka	ta	ajjawin	si	abbò.
even-though	leave	you	because/still	there-is		grandmother

'Even though you leave, Grandmother will be here.'

In Kalamian Tagbanwa and Aborlan Tagbanwa lexically specialized varieties of Concessive Sentence occur. In Kalamian Tagbanwa, Edward Ruch posits an Incongruence Sentence which "indicates that an action or situation is considered incompatible or disparate as measured against a certain norm of expectation." There is a medial piru 'yet' particle as in the Concessive Sentence but agad 'regardless', 'even though' occurs as Relator of the incorporated Relator-Axis Sentence rather than maski/kabay 'although' which occur in the Concessive Sentence. With permutation of the Apodosis to sentence initial there is obligatory deletion of the interposed Link--as is true for Conditional or Concessive Sentences in general.

Agad	kung	belag	tung	yeen,	napatay	ya	ra	rin,	piru
regardless	if	not	for	me	died	you	now	almost	yet

indi	aw	ra	agademdem	mu.
negative	I	now	remember	you

'Heedless of the fact that if it had not been for me you would have died, yet you still do not remember me (favorably).'

Binuat	ta	pa	anya	ta	malain	agad	pirmi	rang	pagpabulung
did	you	yet	he		evil	regardless	always		being-treated

tung	nuyu.
by	you

'He did evil to you regardless of the fact that he is always being treated by you.'

Indi	pa	maaske	ti	tatay	ang	magpabtang	ta	bitala,
negative	yet	know-how		father		place		word

agad	mepet	da.
even-though	old-man	already

'Father doesn't know how to give advice yet even though he's an old man already.'

Ee,	ang	durug	bukli	tia	ti	Duming,	agad	maslit
exclamation		very	liar	that		Duming	even-though	mature

da.
already

'Oh pshaw, that Duming is a big liar, even though he's already mature (and should know better).'

In Aborlan Tagbanwa a Contrary to Circumstances Sentence is posited. A Relator-Axis Sentence with a unique Relator sabagay 'although' is incorporated into the nucleus; there is an implied Antithesis; then a Link expounded by taka 'but/because' followed by the Circumstance tagmeme.

Sabagay	mat	magbuat	kami	dedelem	taka	it	egay	panga-en.
although	say	work	we	tomorrow	but		negative	food

'Although (we) said we would work tomorrow, (we didn't) because there was no food.'

Sabagay	mag-ireg	aku	baitu	patudu	taka	it	may	asawa	ku.
although	want	I	this	stay	behind	but	is	mate	my

'Although (I) wanted to remain here, (I didn't) because I have a wife (at home).'

Sabagay	ireg	ku	pablag	taka	it	dakulang	bandi.
although	want	I	divorce	but		large-ligature	fine

'Although (I) want to get a divorce (I won't) because of the large fine (involved).'

Concessive Sentences in Balangao, Bontoc, and Itneg juxtapose an exponent of Concessive Margin with an exponent of Conditional Margin. The following two examples are Bontoc:

Olay mo adi gawis nan kanentako, mo kettakot adi
even if negative good the food-our if then-we negative

matey.
die

'Even though our food is no good, as long as we don't die.'

Olay mabalodak mo ketak matago.
even bound-I if then-I live

'Even though I'm imprisoned as long as I live.'

In Kalamian Tagbanwa there occurs a Refutative Sentence that expounds COUNTER-REMARK (REM) in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. This sentence type is apparently derived by bringing into the nucleus an exponent of Concessive Margin with deletion of the Relator 'although'. A weak ligature-like Link ang occurs between the two Bases. In the first example below apparently the second Base is the incorporated exponent of Conditional Margin; in the second example the first Base is the incorporated exponent of the margin.

REMARK: Atiang agaeled daw tung lakun.
that afraid I of waves

'When I am afraid of the waves.'

REMARK: Meled dang duun naw ka?
afraid you-link there I also

'You'll be afraid and there I am too?'

REMARK: Yawa ra kang lagi siguru yang indi
you now also right-away probably negative

naliliag ang magaral ta danay.
want learn steadily

'You are the one probably who did not want to learn steadily.'

REMARK: Indi a ra paaralen, magaral la pa?
negative you now let-study study you yet

'You're not allowed to study, are you still going to study?'

2.4.6 Incorporation of exponents of more than one sort of margin

In Tausug, Seymour and Lois Ashley posit a Reproach Sentence which seems to incorporate into its nucleus specialized exponents of Cause and Concessive Margins. Thus, although no Cause Margin as such has the Relator sakawkat 'just because' and although no Concessive Margin has the Relator malayngkan[32] 'even though', both these occur as Relators in the Thesis tagmeme of the Reproach Sentence. This sentence has special lexical characteristics (cf. the Kalamian Tagbanwa Incongruence Sentence in 2.4.5) even when the medial counterbalancing particle (sa' 'but', hati 'explanation') is missing. The Antithesis signals an unworthy and unacceptable response in that (a) there is insufficient grounds for such a response (sakawkat), or (b) such a response is contrary to what the actions of others would lead us to expect (malayngkan).

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[32] It may be, however, that malayngkan should be recognized as a further Relator functioning in Relator-Axis Sentences that expound Concessive Margins. The following two Tausug sentences are given by the Ashleys in a footnote as a troublesome residue; they consider them to be aberrant readings of the Disparate Sentence. I wonder if they are not rather Antithetical Sentences with a Concessive Margin in the embedded sentence which expounds Antithesis:

Way	dapitan	ku	Saripul	sa'	malayngkan	hisiyu-siyu	in
none	favored	me	Saripul	but	although	whoever	

managgna'	kaniya	in	dusa.
will-begin	his		fault

'I'm not taking sides (with anyone) Saripul, but to the contrary whoever will begin (the quarreling) he will be at fault.

Bang	taymanghud	mu	maisug	kaw,	sa'	malayngkan	bang	tau
if	sibling	your	fierce	you	but	although	if	person

dugaing	di'	kaw	umatu.
different	not	you	resist

'If it's your sibling you're fierce towards (him), but to the contrary, if it's a stranger you won't resist.'

Sakawkat	nila	na	kaw	nabutu	sa'	nabuga'	na	kaw	kanila.
just-because	they		you	voted	but	afraid		you	them

'Because you were voted (into office) by them, you are afraid of them.'

Sakawkat	na	kaw	maingat	magparagan	hati
just-because		you	know	how-to-drive	(explanation)

magpakusug	na	kaw.
cause-to-be-strong		you

'Because you know how to drive now, you drive fast.'

Sawkat	na	siya	taga	ama'	kapitan	manuntuk	na.
just-because		he	has	father	capitan	socks	

'Just because his father is a captain, (he) socks (others) now.'

Malayngkan	bang	bukun	aku	matay	na	kaw,	hati	di'	kaw	manumtum.
although	if	not	I	die		you	but	not	you	remember

'Although if it hadn't been for me you would have died, still you don't remember (me).'

Malayngkan	aku	in	magtatabang	kaymu	mangi'	kaw	kasuddahan	kaku'.
although	I		help	you	bad	you	natured	me

'Although I help you, you are bad natured towards me.'

Balangao has a Subjunctive Sentence which incorporates into the nucleus an exponent of Conditional, Chance, or Purpose Margins. The incorporated exponent of a margin is preceded by the Formula[33] sapay koma 'good if'.

Sapay	koma	non	anda	iggay	nansaket.
moreover	should	perchance	they	negative	sick

'Oh that they had not gotten sick!'

Sapay	koma	ta	umudan	ah	awni.
moreover	should	so-that	rain		later

'Oh that it would rain after while!'

---

[33] Cf. the sentences described under 2.6 to which the above Balangao sentence type has a certain resemblance.

2.5 *Merged Sentences*

In the above sections, reference has been made on several occasions to *Juxtaposed Sentences*, i.e. sentences in which no medial *Link* or *Marker* occurs but rather two or more *Bases* are combined into one phonological sentence characterized as well by certain lexical and grammatical constraints. I here describe sentence types which are a further development of such *Juxtaposed Sentences*. In these *Merged Sentences*: (1) The *Bases*, which exceed two only in a few sentence types in a few languages, are manifested exclusively by clauses, not by embedded sentences. (2) The structure of one clause is defective, i.e. either we may consider that two tagmemes of the adjoining clauses share the same exponent, or that a tagmeme has been deleted in one clause. The shared exponent frequently occurs at the seam of the two adjoining clauses. (3) There are somewhat stringent lexical constraints on the structure of the clauses which expound the *Bases*.

2.5.1 Inibaloi *Direction Sentence*

I begin the presentation of *Merged Sentences* by presenting an Inibaloi sentence type that is really not a *Merged Sentence*--in that it lacks feature (2) above. Nevertheless, in that this Inibaloi *Direction Sentence* is characterized by features (1) and (3) of the *Merged Sentences*, it makes a fruitful comparison with them and introduction to their structure. It illustrates a surface structure which corresponds to a hypothetical stage in the transformation of *Juxtaposed Sentences* to *Merged Sentences* in other languages.

Lee Ballard describes the Inibaloi *Direction Sentence* as follows: "1. The verb expounding the Predicate within *Base 1* is a verb of motion. 2. The Subject in *Base 2* is expounded by a pronoun (often the zero third person singular pronoun), which occurs pre-predicate and has its antecedent in *Base 1*." In that the Subject of *Base 1* is often expounded by a pronoun as well, many examples of this sentence type have a repeat sequence of the same pronoun in sentence medial, as in the following two sentences:

...*Onbowas*	*ira*	*ira*	*man-obda*.
go early	they	they	work

'They would go early in the morning to work.'

Dimaw	*ira*	*ag*	*ira*	*nanbalon*.
went	they	not	they	take lunch

'They went (to the fields); they didn't take a lunch.'

If there is change of focus from the clause expounding Base 1 to the clause expounding Base 2 the pronoun may change, as in the following (where ka 'you' expounds Subject-as-topic and mo 'you' expounds Subject-non-topic--in that there is shift to goal focus):

...daw	ka	mo	bayshi
go	you	you	pay

'...you go and pay it...'.

The subject of the first clause may, of course, be expounded by a noun instead of a pronoun:

...dimaw	ali	sota	guerilla	at	sha	odopen.
went	here	the	guerillas	(frustration)	they	fetch

'...the guerillas came in a (vain) attempt to take him along.'

On the other hand, the subject of the first clause need not occur clause final but may occur relatively early in its clause:

Dimaw	ira	shi	baley	nonta	daki	sha	kono	tinongtong.
went	they	to	house	the	boy	they	(hearsay)	brought-to-trial

'They went to the house of the boy and they tried him before the elders for what he had done.'

The Inibaloi Direction Sentence resembles the Merged Sentences described below in that (a) it has Bases whose exponents are restricted to clauses and (b) Base 1 is lexically restricted in that it is expounded by clauses whose Predicates are expounded by verbs of motion. Nevertheless, it is not a Merged Sentence in that it requires a specification of the subject in the second Base. In any of the above examples, e.g. in onbowas ira ira man-obda 'They go early in the morning to work', the deletion of the pronoun in the second Base would give us a Merged Sentence. But this step is not taken in Inibaloi as it is taken in the other languages represented in this project. Possibly the preservation of the full undeleted structure of the two clauses reflects the Inibaloi penchant for parallelism and chiasmus as seen in the Parallel Sentence (2.3.2.3).

2.5.2 Merged Sentences in various languages

The Atta Negrito Merged Sentence is in many respects parallel to the Inibaloi Direction Sentence. Notice, however, in the following example that, unlike Inibaloi, the pronoun ira 'they' is not repeated; rather it simultaneously expounds the Subjects of both clauses:

Ume *ira* *magatak*.
go they harvest

'They are going to harvest.'

Also, unlike the Inibaloi *Direction* *Sentence*, the focus must be the same in both clauses. Furthermore, the Predicate of the first clause is not restricted to motion verbs as in Inibaloi. Rather, it is simply required that the two predicates include closely associated or simultaneous actions. Note the following examples:

Makkiddo *ka* *parubán* *ta* *bale* *ta*.
ask you try for house our

'Try asking for a house for us.'

Naggiá *ira* *ngin* *mannunnunnuk*.
stayed they then swimming

'Then they stayed swimming.'

Nappunawin *si* *abbing* *manginunuk* *kâ* *iná* *na*.
tired-then marker child swimming marker mother his

'The child then got tired carrying his mother in the water.'

Nakkarerá *si* *abbing* *makakatakatol*.
ran marker child calling

'The child ran calling.'

Uliak *ku* *pintán*.
again I paint

'I will paint it over again.'

Atta Negrito is also one of the few languages where more than two *Bases* can occur in a *Merged* *Sentence*. Consider the following example:

Naggiánà *gape* *makakarakarerá* *makakatakatol* *ta* *kannak*.
stayed-I also running calling on bank

'I stayed on the bank running and calling.'

The Agta *Merged* *Sentence* likewise has a shared exponent of the Subjects of its two clauses in many examples of this sentencs type:

O,	makamu	hapa	lā	Dios	teyāk	ay	mangatad	ta	kānan	ku.
oh	know	also	just	God	I	(emphasis)	give		food	I

'Oh, God himself is responsible for me and gives me my food.'

Under special conditions, however, some indication of Subject is found in each clause. Thus, Roy Mayfield states: "If a Subject which is expounded by a coordinate phrase consisting of a pronoun plus a phrase is shared...the overt pronoun occurs with the exponent of Action 1 [= Base 1] and the overt phrase occurs with the exponent of Action 2 [= Base 2]." This is illustrated in the following sentence:

Itta	kamin	ten	ay	magtunud	na	kofun	ken.
there-is	we(exclusive)	there		single-file		friend	I-the

'My friend and I were there going along single file.'

Here kamin 'we(exclusive)' occurs in Base 1 and na kofun ken 'my friend' occurs in Base 2; together they equal 'my friend and I' which is applicable to both clauses. Again Mayfield says: "When the Predicate of the exponent of Action 1 is the verb e 'go' and the Subject is a phrase, the antecedent pronoun of the Subject occurs with the exponent of Action 1 and the noun phrase Subject occurs following the Predicate in the second Action." This is seen in the following example where na 'he' occurs in Base 1 and na abbing kiden 'the children' occurs in Base 2.

En	na	lini-bagan	na	abbing	kiden	ya	danum	en.
go	he	muddied		child	(plural)		water	(the)

'The children went and muddied the water.'

Lexically the Agta Merged Sentence is not restricted to motion verbs in its first Base. Some examples appear to be derived from Sequence Sentences via juxtaposition (deletion of Sequence Link) and merger:

Enda	sina-bil	ig	aboy	ne-uhet	ta	huplano	en.
go-they	carried		daughter	exited		airplane	the

'They went and picked up my daughter and her siblings and brought them out of the airplane.'

In other examples, however, the actions are clearly simultaneous. This is exemplified in the following example which, like the preceding, has three bases; the verbs mean 'side-by-side', 'talk', and 'walk':

A	sangaw	naghebing	kami	magbida	makatugtugut
and	then	side-by-side	we(exclusive)	talk	walk(continuously)

na	kofun	tām	en.
the	friend	we	the

'And then we and our friend continued walking side by side talking together.'

In a few examples the final Base explains how the action of the previous Base is accomplished:

Tijamay	nāk	na	de	na	ugsin	en	inayāyaw	o.
poisoned	he-I	now	maybe		lowlander	the	tricked	emphatic

'Maybe the lowlander poisoned me by trickery.'

In Itneg an optional Link expounded by nga (with considerable allomorphic variation) occurs between the two Bases of a Merged Sentence. While motion verbs are very common in the first Base, other verbs occur there as well. Thus not only do such following combinations of verbs occur: 'go, begin harvest'; 'go, gather'; 'go, wander'; 'go, find'; 'come, eat'; 'come, get'; but also combinations of verbs such as 'go-far-away, get-out of the way' and 'be diligent, bore'. A common shared exponent of the Subjects of both clauses occurs.

Inda	lomogi	maglaani.
went-they	begin	harvest

'They went to begin the harvesting.'

Napan	da	kano	magpaspasyalen.
went	they	(reported)	wandering around

'They went to wander around.'

The Dibabawon Manobo Merged Sentence, like the Inibaloi Direction Sentence, has only verbs of motion in its first Base. It is a bona fide Merged Sentence in that there is a shared exponent of the Subjects of both clauses:

Namang-ipanow	sikan	mongo	bata	namang-atod	to	usa
left	relator	plural	child	delivered	relator	deer

no	tiniyuk.
ligature	strung

'The children left to distribute the portions of venison.'

Dayun	to	nighipanow	kandan	namansakoy	to	bautu	no
then	relator	left	they	rode	relator	boat	ligature

bayà.
new

'Then they left riding in the new boat.'

The Merged Sentence in Aborlan Tagbanwa apparently has two subtypes:[34] (a) with Base 1 expounded by Existential Clause and Base 2 expounded by Verbal Clause and with a shared exponent of the Subject of the former and the Object of the latter; (b) with both Bases expounded by Verbal Clauses and with a shared exponent of the Subjects of both Clauses. The actions in the second subtype are either closely associated or simultaneous; there is no restriction to motion verbs in the first Base. In the two examples below, the first is a Coordinate Sentence both of whose Bases are expounded by a Merged Sentence of the first subtype. The second example is of the second subtype.

Taka	waini	lana	ku	ibtang	mu	asat	bulsa	mu	baw	waini	batu
but	here	oil	my	put	you	there	pocket	your	and	here	stone

ku	telnen	mu.
my	swallow	you

'But here is my (magic) coconut oil you put (it) there in your pocket and here is my (magic) stone you swallow (it).'

Magmamà	si	dun	pilipi	nga	itu	magsigup.
chew betal			Philip	ligature	this	smoke

'Mr. Philip chews betel nut (and) smokes tobacco.'

In Ilianen Manobo, Jean Shand posits a Merged Goal Sentence in which (a) a single pronoun or noun is the shared exponent of the Subjects of both clauses--which may nevertheless focus on different Topics; and (b) the second Base is some sort of logical Goal or Referent of the first Base. In the clauses expounding the two Bases verb pairs occur such as: 'learn, read'; 'able, build'; 'do-alone, make'; 'go, make'; 'take-turns, gather'; meander, go'; take-hold, prepare'; hold, put-away'. Two examples follow in which the common Subject is also Topic of both clauses. In the third example, while rin 'she' is

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[34] This is my interpretation of Stewart Hussey's writing. I have not had opportunity to check these matters with him since the conclusion of the workshop program.

Subject of both clauses, se kebila' 'betel-basket' is Topic of the first clause while si Beletamey is Topic of the second.

Eguru	si	Aya'	ebasa.
learn	relator	Aunt	read

'Aunt is learning to read.'

Mid-uney	mibaal.
did-along	made

'He independently made it.'

Kira	rin	se	kebila'	embe	ediri	si	Beletamey.
took	she	the	betel-basket	(reason)	prepare		Beletamey

'She took the betel-basket to prepare a chew for Beletamey.'

In Siocon Subanon the two verbs of the Bases of the Merged Sentence occur juxtaposed with the same noun/pronoun as shared exponent of the Topic of both--whether or not Actor and focus are the same in both Bases. In all but one of William Hall's examples the verb of Base 1 is a motion verb.

Mogutom	mogutom	ilan	angoyon	poluasoy.
hungry	hungry	they	go	let out

'(When) they are a little hungry (they) go (and) let (it) out.'

Dadi	inangoy	ukadoy.
so	went for	unwrap

'So (she) went for (it) (and) unwrapped (it).'

Si	Momonlibud	Pulù	migabak	mogbantoy no	sop	nok
person	Momonlibud	Pulu	left behind	watch	again	dried

tinapa	nilan.
fish	their

'Momomlibud Pulù was left behind to watch again their dried fish.'

In the Tagabili Merged Sentence it is the Base 2 which must contain a motion verb; the sense of Base 2 is circumstantial and temporal. Evidently the Tagabili Merged Sentence is the product of a course of development in which (a) certain margins (noticeably the Time Margin) were brought into the nucleus with deletion of the Relator of the incorporated Relator-Axis Sentence; and (b) the resulting Juxtaposed Sentence became a Merged Sentence on deletion of the Subject from the second Base.

Slobe kől ke deng.
go-by-I arrive later

'I'll go by when I come back later.'

Nwiten kől koni.
bring-he arrive just-now

'He brought it when he arrived just now.'

Tnabahu lemwőt ke deng.
call-I leave later

'I'll call him when I leave later.'

The Koronadal Bilaan Merged Sentence is a very specialized structure in which the sentence medial noun phrase is simultaneous exponent of Goal-as-Topic of Base 1 and of Instrument-as-Topic of Base 2.

Nwe-an bansung tiles kalmati.
get-he knife slice tomato

'He got the knife to slice the tomato.'

Nulut-an agas dak sdè.
pick-up-he spear spear pig

'He picked up the spear used to spear the pig.'

In the Tausug Merged Sentence while a tagmeme of Base 1 shares an exponent with a tagmeme of Base 2, the two tagmemes may be (1) Actor, Actor; (2) Goal, Goal; (3) Actor, Goal; (4) Goal, Actor; or (5) Goal, Instrument (cf. Koronadal Bilaan). The noun phrase that is the shared exponent of the two tagmemes may occur at the seam of the two Bases; permute either to the fore of Base 1 or to the end of Base 2; or may be deleted in sufficient context. The five examples below illustrate respectively the five types of shared exponence listed above:

(1) In tau yaun nakakaun nakaruwa na.
persons that ate two-times already

'That fellow has eaten twice already.'

(2) Biyugit siya binin ha lupa' Bisaya'.
thrown-away he left-behind homeland Visaya

'He was deserted, left behind in the homeland of the Visayans.'

(3)

Nagdungan	in	tawmpa'	bini.
to-occur-same-time		shoes	bought

'The shoes were bought at the same time.'

(4)

Hilaruk	mu	pa	taas	makapitu	in	sing-sing.
throw	you		upwards	will-be-seven		ring

'The ring is the thing you throw upwards, (the ring) will be seven times', i.e. 'You throw the ring upwards seven times.'

(5)

Magkawa'	siya	dahun	niyug	hinangun	bay-bay.
will-get	he	leaves	coconut	will-make	small-house

'He will get coconut leaves with which to make a small house.'

A further Tausug example is of interest in that it has three *Bases*, deletes the shared exponent, and seems to be a development from a (juxtaposed) *Sequence Sentence*:

Iyapas	niyu	iyabutan	nalagut	niya.
chased	by-him	overtaken	slashed	by-him

'(The person) was chased by him, overtaken, slashed.'

2.5.3 Subtypes and types of *Merged Sentences*

In Kalamian Tagbanwa, Edward Ruch sets up four subtypes of the *Merged Sentence* (all of which have a weak *Link* expounded by *ang* between the *Bases*). Subtype A is apparently a development from a *Juxtaposed Sentence* which has incorporated the *Purpose Margin* into the nucleus by deleting the *Relator* of the *Relator-Axis Sentence*.

Magekel	la	tung	mga	ana	mung	magpagayung.
take	you		(plural)	child	your	cause-row

'Take along your children so you can have them row.'

Subtype B is apparently a development from a *Paraphrase* (or *Recapitulation*) *Juxtaposed Sentence*; the same verb occurs in both *Bases*.

Ipadapat	ming	ipadapat	yang	bitala	u.
apply	you	apply		word	my

'Insist strongly on my word.'

In subtype C one or the other *Base* qualifies the other as to manner. When the *Base 1* is expounded by a non-verbal clause, it functions as a manner qualifier to *Base 2*. Otherwise, the

Verbal Clause that expounds *Base 2* functions as the manner qualifier of *Base 1*. The *Base* serving as manner qualifier may be transformed to a clause-level *Manner* tagmeme. In the following example it is the second *Base* which serves as manner qualifier to the first.

Duun	*da*	*tanya*	*patayay*	*ang*	*ginulpi*	*yang*	*Moros*.
there	now	he	killed	link	sudden	the	Muslim

'There the Muslim was killed once and for all.'

In subtype D, the first *Base* must be expounded by a clause with a stative verb. The first *Base* is negative or conveys something of doubt or caution.

Agaeyak	*kaw*	*ang*	*magpapuistu*	*duun*.
ashamed	I	link	settle-down	there

'I am uneasy about settling down there.'

Probably no more and certainly no less distinct from each other than the subtypes posited by Ruch are the four types of *Merged Sentences* posited by Lawrence Reid and Joanne Shetler in Bontoc and Balangao. I describe here only the *Merged Sentences* found in Bontoc; those found in Balangao are similar with some variation of detail.

Reid points out several common characteristics of the *Merged Sentences* of Bontoc: (1) the obligatory *Link* expounded by *ay* (this same Link occurs as an optional element in *Paraphrase* and *Sequence Sentences*); and (2) peculiar grammatical and semantic dependence between the two or more *Bases*, which Reid terms *Action* tagmemes. Thus, in the *Purpose Sentence*, *Logical Goal Sentence* and *Speech Sentence* (names of specific *Merged Sentences*) an Actor tagmeme occurs only in the exponent of *Action 1* and is deleted in the exponents of subsequent *Action* tagmemes. In the *Logical Goal Sentence* and the *Sensate Sentence* (another *Merged Sentence*) "the Topics of non-subject focus clauses (thus expressing situational participants other than Actor) manifesting *Action 1* are deleted and semantically interpreted through information provided by the exponent of *Action 2*." (3) Clauses which expound *Action 2* "may not have a negative auxiliary in the Predicate verb phrase." (4) There are tense sequence restrictions: If the tense of the verb in *Action 1* is non-past, the tense of the verb in *Action 2* must also be non-past. No restriction is imposed on the tense of the second verb if the first verb is past tense.

To characterize briefly the differences among the four types of Bontoc *Merged Sentences*: (1) The *Purpose Sentence* may be transformed to a *Simple Sentence* with a *Purpose Margin*. (2)

The *Logical Goal Sentence* includes such relations as inception, termination, and intensification. Under conditions not as yet fully understood, the *Logical Goal Sentence* may be transformed to a one clause *Simple Sentence* in which the clause expounding *Action 2* is nominalized and becomes the Topic of the clause expounding *Action 1* (by stripping all verbal affixation from the verb in the clause of *Action 2*). (3) The *Sensate Sentence* may also be transformed to a one-clause *Simple Sentence* by nominalization of the clause which expounds *Action 2*. (4) The *Speech Sentence*, for which no transformations are stated, occurs only as an exponent of the *Direct Quote Formula* (cf. the end of 2.6.1).

These are, however, only some of the features mentioned by Reid as diagnostic of differences among the four *Merged Sentences*. For each sentence type, a distinctive bidimensional array is given in which the number of *Bases* is specified (only two with *Logical Goal* and *Sensate Sentences*; more than two with *Purpose* and *Speech Sentences*), as well as the lexical sets of verbs involved in the constituent clauses, and the structure of the clauses (in respect to focus, and presence or absence of Actor and Topic). While these details are essential to a generative grammar of Bontoc their reproduction here would be inappropriate in this summary report.

Two examples follow of each of the four *Merged Sentence* types of Bontoc.

Purpose Sentence

Inmey	*nan*	*inin-a*	*ad*	*Mainit*	*ay*	*manaoy*.
went	the	women	to	Mainit	link	buy-food

'The women went to Mainit to buy food.'

Kamanganyo	*ay*	*mangney*.
hurry-you	link	take

'Hurry to take it.'

Logical Goal Sentence

Ilogida	*ay*	*in-ag-agom*.
begin-they	link	feast

'They begin to feast.'

Laydek	*ay*	*omey*.
like-I	link	go

'I want to go.'

Sensate Sentence

Dinngelna	*ay*	*komak-ayaskas*	*nan*	*tongnga*.
heard-he	link	rustling-of	the	corn

'He heard the rustling of the corn.'

Inilak	*ay*	*emsena*	*nan*	*anakna*.
saw-I	link	bathe-he	the	child-his

'I saw that he was bathing his child.'

Speech Sentence

Kananmi	*ay*	*mangwani*	*ay*	*intot-oya*...
say-we	link	saying	link	discussing

'We said, discussing...'

Kanana	*ay*	*inkoop*, "...
say-he	link	hoot

'He (an owl) said, hooting, "...'

2.6 *Quotation Sentences*

Quotation Sentences resemble clause structures in that the *Quotation* tagmeme can be considered to be the object of the preceding verb (which, in *Direct Quotation* is a verb of speech). Nevertheless, there are good reasons for handling such structures on the sentence level rather than the clause level: (1) The sheer length and variety of grammatical structures that manifest the putative Object are unparalleled in clause structure elsewhere. (2) The balance of the clause characteristically constitutes a rather restricted and specialized structure (the *Quotation Formula*) that gives the appearance of special variants of clauses conditioned by occurrence in higher-level (i.e. sentence) slots. In brief a *Quotation Sentence* displays at least two parts, the *Quotation* and the *Quotation Formula*, both of which, while somewhat anomalous on the clause level, are easily accommodated on a higher hierarchical level.

Richard Elkins, for Western Bukidnon Manobo , after pointing out the similarity of *Quotation Sentences* to clause structures, proceeds to remark: "Although these features suggest that the string may be analyzed as a kind of clause level string, the resulting analysis involves the setting up of a highly specialized clause type with characteristics not found elsewhere in clauses." He then proceeds to argue, in effect, my points (1) and (2) above. He specifically argues that certain permutations are possible within putative "Quotation Clauses" that are not possible in other clauses; that the Second Direct Quotation Formula (as in: 'Mungau said, she said...' and 'word of the king, he said...') has no parallel in clause structures; that optional Markers te, is, and ne (like English 'that') which occur before the Quotation are obligatory introducers of such tagmemes as Object on the clause level; and that the Quotation as so-called Direct Object can not be focused, i.e. prefixed with a Topic marking particle and collocated with a verb in objective voice. This latter matter is quite serious, for as Elkins points out:

> "In all other verbal clauses when one of the major dramatis personae tagmemes, i.e. Subject, Object, Instrument, or Direction, occurs out of focus, the clause may always be transformed so that that tagmeme is in focus. This transform possibility is, for certain verb stem classes, the only means of determining the grammatical identity of the Object, Instrument, and Direction in clauses where they occur."

While, therefore, we can assert that in Western Bukidnon Manobo the Quotation is simply a clause-level Direct Object we can not perform the grammatical transform that will conclusively demonstrate it to be such.

Elkins concludes that "it seems preferable to regard the direct quotation strings as portmanteau manifestations of both clause and sentence level structures." From this point of view a Quotation Sentence is both a specialized clause structure and a sentence structure. It therefore follows that a higher level (such as sentence) does not merely combine lower-level units (such as clauses) to form higher-level units but also on occasion restructures and reinterprets the lower-level units.

Kenneth Maryott for Sangir also describes the Quotation Sentences as portmanteau strings which reinterpret clause-level structures. As a whole, Maryott labors to establish this thesis rather than to highlight differences between Quotation Sentences and clause structures. Maryott does mention, however, a permutation or two (one of the Quotation Formulas moving to a position inside the Quotation) that have no parallel on the clause level.

2.6.1 *Direct Quotation Sentences*

Among the *Quotational Sentences* found in many languages, the *Direct Quotation Sentence* occupies a position of privilege in that it is the *Quotation Sentence* par excellence. For this reason, in Diagram 18 at the end of this volume, the *Direct Quotational Sentence* is considered to be focal in the right hand side of the neighborhood scheme.

In many Philippine languages from the north to the south of the archipelago, the *Direct Quotation Sentence* has the following general structure: ± DQF + DQ ± QR (where DQF = *Direct Quotation Formula*, DQ = *Direct Quotation*, and QR = *Quotation Reinforcer*). The *Direct Quotation Formula* is expounded by verbs of speech of which there may be several subsets with differing voices (focus); or by a noun phrase such as 'His word (was)', or in some cases by special *Merged Sentences* (cf. 2.5.3) involving verbs of speech. The *Direct Quotation* is expounded by anything from a single morpheme to a discourse. The *Quotation Reinforcer* is usually an unaffixed verb stem meaning 'to say'. When very general in distribution (especially when an unaffixed stem) this is best analyzed as a *Disclaimer of Responsibility* tagmeme of the outer periphery (see 1.2.7). When associated exclusively with the *Quotation Formula* (as possibly in Inibaloi) it need not be a sentence-level tagmeme at all but can be relegated to the structure of the constituent clause that expounds *Quotation Formula*. In many languages, however, it acts like a postposed *Quotation Formula*. In Batak (*nagawat* 'say'), it obligatorily permutes to within the exponent of the *Direct Quotation* where it can occur more than once. In other languages (e.g. Bilaan, Atta Negrito, Agta, Botolan Sambal, and Kalamian Tagbanwa) it optionally permutes to within the *Direct Quotation*. It may in some languages occur preceding the *Direct Quotation* when there is no *Direct Quotation Formula*. In Itneg it permutes to the fore of the *Quotation* but not to within it.

Some variations of the above general structure occur: (1) In Maranao and Ata Manobo, a *Quotation Reinforcer* is not posited (in the letter *kun* 'they say' is general and probably belongs to the outer periphery). (2) In several languages (e.g. Agta, Ata Manobo, Maranao, and Kalamian Tagbanwa) there is a *Sign of Direct Quote,* i.e. a particle much like the English 'that'. This particle is obligatory in Agta and Maranao. (3) In three contiguous languages of northern Luzon (Bontoc, Balangao, and Kalinga) there is not only this *Sign of Direct Quote* after the preposed *Quotation Formula* but also such a *Sign* (obligatory in Bontoc) before the *Quotation Reinforcer*. (4) In Atta Negrito, the *Direct Quotation Formula* typically occurs postposed to the *Direct Quotation*.

Analyzed examples follow of Direct Quotation Sentences in several languages:

Agta:

A	sangaw	te Ipag	ā	uhohugan	na
and	then	ST:sibling-in-law	conjunction	DQF:said	he

ta	"magtoli	kitānan,"	kun	na.
sign:(that)	DQ:return	we(inclusive)	QR:said	he

'And then my sibling-in-law, he said, "let's go back," he said.'

"Atsi	awe	mi,"	kun	da,	"te	awan	ya	lalaki
DQ:(exclusive)	not	we	(QR:said	they)	because	none		man

mi	kiden,"	kun	da.
our	(plural)	QR:said	they

'"Nuts, we don't want to," they said, "because our men aren't here," they said.'

Balangao:

ekat-o	en	ay	"yaha	hen	inyalem	heto"
DQF:said-I	sign:that	DQ:	that	the	bring-you	here

way	da	ekat.
sign:that	QR:I	said

'I said, "Is that what you brought here?" I said.'

Atta Negrito:

"Kahi!	Nilonán	na	lâ	kanan	na,"	kun
DQ:hooray	forgoes	he	only	food	his	DQF:said

ni	ayong.
the	monkey

"Hooray! He's just going to forego his food," said the monkey.

"Nonopam	mà	sangaw,	kopun,	nu	egga	yù	parigátăm
DQ:think	you-me	by-and-by	friend	if	there-is	the	difficulty

mu,"	kun	na	kanu	nayu	utta.
your	DQF:said	he	QR:reported speech	the	deer

'"Think of me by and by, friend, if you get into trouble," said the deer.'

Some languages towards the south of the Philippine archipelago (Mindanao, Sulu Islands, and one Tagbanwa dialect from Palawan) have a somewhat more complicated structure in the Direct Quotation Sentence, in that two preposed Direct Quotation Formulas are posited and in some cases a Quotation Reinforcer or third Direct Quotation Formula as well.

Thus in Binukid (Manobo) there is a *Direct Quotation Formula 1* that is expounded by a clause containing a verb of speech such as 'say', 'call', 'order', 'tell', 'answer', a *Direct Quotation Formula 2* that is expounded by a briefer clause consisting of *kagi* 'saying' plus a pronoun. The *Quotation Reinforcer* (kun 'it is said') can also occur within the *Direct Quotation* itself. An optional *Sign of Direct Quote* appears under certain conditions. The occurrence of the verb 'ask' in *Direct Quotation Formula 1* determines, however a subtype of the *Direct Quotation Sentence* In this subtype the exponent of the *Sign of Direct Quote* is distinct and the *Quotation Reinforcer* does not appear.[35] I adapt here Ursula Post's bidimensional arrays of these two subtypes of the Binukid (Manobo) *Direct Quotation Sentence* (changing certain of her abbreviations and labels to conform to the general scheme adopted here); and follow each with some of her examples.

(±Peri)	±DQF_{1a}	±sg_1	±$DQF_2{}^n$	+DQ	±QR
	IndCl<*ikagi*> SiS 'say'	*ha* *hu* 'that'	*kagi*<*din*> '<he>said' 'saying'	IndCl Any S PARAGRAPH DISCOURSE	*kun* '<he>said' 'it is said'

Rules:

(1) If +QR, then +DQF_2
(2) If +QR, then a DQF_2 precedes DQ.
(3) When -DQF_1 and a DQF_2 precedes DQ, then DQF_2 ± sg.
(4) DQF_2 occurs _DQ, DQ_, or D (_)Q.
(5) QR occurs D(_)Q.

Nangumaw	*en*	*sidan*	*hu*	*kagi*	*dan*	"_____"
call	particle	they	that	said	they	

'They called, saying, "...".'

Tagpamatbat	*en*	*sidan*	*hu*	*kagi*	*dan*	"_____"
tell	particle	they	that	said	they	

'They told, saying, "...".'

"*A*"	*kagi*	*din*	"*agpasen*	*ku*"	*kagi*	*din*	"*ta*	*maluya*	*si*	*Amay*".
interjection	said	she	hurry	I	said	she	because	weak		Father

'"I'm hurrying", she said, "because Father is weak".'

Kagi	*din*	"*Hadi*"	*kun*	"*agkakayug*".
said	he	not	he-said	move

'He said, "Don't move", he said.'

---

[35] It appears that the subtypes are sufficiently distinct that possibly both *Direct* and *Indirect Questions* could be posited as further types alongside *Direct* and *Indirect Quotations* in Binukid (Manobo). But see Sec. 2.6.4.

(±Peri)	+DQF$_{1b}$	±sg$_2$	±DQF$_2^n$	+DQ
	IndCl<insa> 'ask'	ku	kagi din 'he said' 'saying'	IntCl Any S (with interrogative word)

Rule: DQF$_2$ occurs D(_)Q.

Migpanginginsa	en	saini	ha	kapitan	ku	"Sin-u	sa	ngadan nu?"
asked	particle	that	ligature	captain	sign	who	the	name your

'This captain asked, "What is your name?" .'

Nanginginsa	sa	hari	"Makaluluuy"	kagi	din	"Inu	ha	hinengdan"	kagi	din,	"imba	kaw	man	lambu?"
asked	the	king	Poor-Man	said	he	What	ligature	reason	said	he	why	you	particle	fat

'The king asked, "Poor Man" he said, "what's the reason," he said, "why you're so fat?".'

The Merged Speech Sentence (cf. 2.5.3) in Bontoc and Balangao is probably a development from Direct Quotation Sentences with two preposed Formulas. In this development the two Formulas have become interdependent by sharing the same actor. They are, in addition, linked by a weak ligature-like conjunction. Consequently, within the framework of the Direct Quotation Sentence in Bontoc and Balangao, there is but one preposed Direct Quote Formula. This slot may be filled not only by clauses (specialized lexically and grammatically) but also by the merged Speech Sentence, i.e. by a unit derived from the two fused Formulas. Thus, in Bontoc occur merged Speech Sentences such as 'Answered the man deceived...', i.e.'The man answered deceiving ...', and 'Said-we discussed...', i.e. 'We said discussing...'. In Balangao the corresponding Merged Sentence is not limited to embedding within the Formula slot of the Direct Quotation Sentence but embeds also within Indirect Quotation and Indirect Question Sentences.

2.6.2 Indirect Quotation Sentences

In contrast to the Direct Quotation Sentence, which professes to give verbatim the words of the person quoted, the Indirect Quotation Sentence adapts the viewpoint of the person quoted to that of the person reporting the quotation. Thus the Direct Quotation Sentence 'John said "I will go there tomorrow"' may be reported two days later as the Indirect Quotation Sentence 'He said that he would come here yesterday'. Furthermore, in many languages, the Indirect Quotation employs Quotation Formulas that are not confined to verbs of speech but which may include such verbs as 'know', 'believe', 'think', 'feel', 'observe', or even 'want'. Indeed, in Agta the Indirect Quotation includes only the latter sort of verbs in its Quotation Formula so that the Indirect Quotation is not a transform of the Direct Quotation. Thus Roy Mayfield writes:

> "(1) The stems which occur in IQF are pahig 'think (mistakenly)', mapya 'good', kuhug 'true', pirmi (intensity), anggem (acknowledgement), ikayat 'like', and amu 'know'.
>
> "(2) Indirect quotation sentences in Agta are not equivalent to what is traditionally understood to be indirect quotation. More properly they involve an interpretation in terms of thought, desire, feeling, etc., of what might be speech."

Some of Mayfield's examples follow:

Pāhig	ku	ta	ittā	ya	ilakum	ta	baggāt.
IQF:thought	I	sign	IQ:there-is		sell-you		rice

'I thought that you had rice to sell.'

Ā	māpya	sina	ta	gantuban	ya	uhohug	mina.
and	IQF:good	that	sign	IQ:cut-short		word	you-that

'And it's better that you quit talking so much.'

Pirmi	ta	makasitab	āk	na	hapa.
IQF:(intense)	sign	IQ:urinate	I	now	too

'I also have to urinate real desperately.'

Ānggem	ta	kunna	mantu	lā	ten	na	lamag.
IQF:(acknowledgement)	sign	IQ:like	indeed		just	that	crocodile

'So that's what a crocodile is like.'

Kuhug	hā	mantu	lā	ta	manguyoyung	ya	māmānuk	in.
IQF:true	again	indeed	just	sign	IQ:bother		bird	(this)

'There's no doubt indeed that this bird is making a fool out of me.'

In Ata Manobo, Patricia Hartung reports that while such verbs and nouns as 'think', 'thought', and 'ponder' may occur in both *Direct* and *Indirect Quotation Formulas* (more commonly, however, in the latter), the words *kagi* 'word-of', say' and *tabak* 'answer' have been observed only in *Direct Quotation Formulas*. Furthermore, verbs/and nouns such as 'desire' and 'fear' occur only in *Indirect Quotation Formulas*. These restrictions are reminiscent of Agta where *Indirect Quotation Formulas* do not include verbs of speech. In Ata Manobo, the only verb of speech that occurs frequently in the *Indirect Quotation Formula* is *inso* 'ask'. Maybe an *Indirect Question Sentence* should be posited in whose *Quotation Formula* the verb 'ask' (and 'choose'?) figures and whose *Quotation* tagmeme may express alternatives.

2.6.3 Disambiguation of *Direct* and *Indirect Quotation Sentences*

When, as in most languages within the scope of this study, a *Direct Quotation Sentence* with its verb of speech may be transformed into an *Indirect Quotation Sentence*, a problem sometimes arises in disambiguating the two structures. Or, from the standpoint of the speaker instead of the hearer, how can an unambiguous *Direct Quotation* (or unambiguous *Indirect Quotation*) be made? Thus, if a particle such as 'that' occurs in both *Direct* and *Indirect Quotations* and if the same verbs figure in the *Formulas* of quotation in both structures how does one distinguish 'He says (that) "I am a fool"' from 'He says that I am a fool'? In the former the person whose speech is reported asserts that he himself is a fool; in the second he asserts that the person now reporting his remark is a fool.

In contrasting the *Direct* and *Indirect Quotation Sentences* in Western Bukidnon Manobo, Richard Elkins explains:

> "The indirect quotation nucleus contrasts with that of the direct quotation sentence in that (1) the quote formula tagmeme and the quote marker tagmeme of the indirect quote sentence are obligatory whereas those of the direct quote sentence are optional; and (2) there is no additional indirect quotation formula tagmeme which corresponds to direct quote formula 2 of the direct quotation sentence; (3) the exponent of indirect quote may be no more extensive than a sentence while the exponent of direct quote may be a paragraph or discourse. Also the indirect quotation is characterized by a shift in pronouns which is determined by the pronominal identity of the person quoting, the person spoken to by the one quoting, and that of the person spoken of in the quotation."

In disambiguating the ambiguous pair of sentences suggested two paragraphs above we are confronted with a more difficult task than merely contrasting two syntagmemes as structural entities. It is a truism in linguistics that quite different constructions may, on occasion, have homophonous exponents. We note, for instance, that Elkin's first contrastive criteria--the obligatory nature of the *Indirect Quotation Marker* and *Sign of Quotation* in the *Indirect Quotation Sentence* versus the optional nature of the corresponding tagmemes in the *Direct Quotation*--is of no help in disambiguating examples of the two sentence types when examples of the latter include the optional tagmemes. Nor is criterion (3) of much value when the *Quotation* tagmeme is expounded by a rather short string in both types. Nor is (4) of value in a situation where the identity and mutual relations of reporter and person reported speaking are not clear--this is, in fact, the precise question at stake in disambiguating the two structures. When, however, according to criterion (2) the further *Quotation Formula 2* occurs in a *Direct Quotation Sentence* there is unambiguous signalling of the latter sentence type, as in the Western Bukidnon equivalent of 'The word of the king, he said...'. An unambiguous *Direct Quotation* can therefore be made by the simple expedient of including the optional but frequent *Direct Quotation Formula 2*. A further way to encode an unambiguous *Direct Quotation* is based on a contrastive feature of the two sentence types which is not mentioned above in the paragraph quoted from Elkins: either of the *Direct Quotation Formulas* may permute to the inside of the *Quotation* or to follow the *Quotation*; there is loss of the *Sign of Direct Quote* when no *Direct Quotation Formula* precedes the *Quotation*. The *Indirect Quotation Formula* does not thus permute. Therefore, to form a *Direct Quotation Sentence* that is not ambiguous with the *Indirect Quotation* one need only permute one of the *Direct Quote Formulas*. An additional feature that serves to disambiguate the two *Quotation Sentences* is that the sets of particles that expound the *Sign of Quote* tagmemes in the two sentence types partially differ in membership.

In Ilianen Mabobo, Jean Shand reports similar contrastive features between the two types of *Quotation Sentences*. A distinctive feature of the *Indirect Quotation Sentence* as opposed to the *Direct Quotation Sentence* is the occurrence of a further tagmeme (what I've called the *Quotation Reinforcer*: *kun* 'it is said') only in the former.

In Tausug both the *Direct Quotation* and the *Indirect Quotation* are split into two contrasting types: a *Heard* type and a *Hearsay* type. A *Quotation Formula 3* is posited with *kunu'* 'they say'/'it is said' as its exponent. When this *Quotation Formula 3* occurs embedded within the *Quotation* tagmeme it acts simply as a *Quotation Reinforcer* and may be the sole *Quotation Formula* in the sentence. In these circumstances the sentence is an *Indirect Heard Quotation Sentence*. The speaker is not trying to disclaim responsibility for reporting the utterance but *kunu'* simply constitutes a formula of quotation. When, however *kunu'* 'they say'/'it is said' precedes *Quotation Formula 2* (as in the *Direct Hearsay Quotation Sentence*) or embeds within either DQF$_1$ or DQF$_2$ (in the *Indirect Hearsay Quotation Sentence*), then it has the meaning of disclaiming responsibility for reporting: 'They are said to have said "We are opposed to the idea"' or 'They are said to have said that they oppose the idea'. The three differing distributions of *kunu'* that have been indicated above plus its total absence in the *Direct Heard Quotation Sentence* are one criterion for separation into four sentence types. Another criterion is the obligatory versus optional status of certain tagmemes. Thus, while both DQF$_1$ and DQF$_2$ occur in all four types (the latter is more stylized and restricted, includes one special verb *laung* 'say', and may permute to positions within or following the *Quotation* in all types except in the *Indirect Hearsay Quotation*), their status is as follows (1) In the *Direct Heard Quotation*, either, both, or neither may occur[36] (2) In the *Direct Hearsay Quotation* not only are both DQF$_1$ and DQF$_2$ obligatory but DQF$_3$ (*kunu'*) must occur as well. (3) In the *Indirect Heard Quotation* one of the three quotation formulas is obligatory. (4) In the *Indirect Hearsay Quotation* either DQF$_1$ or DQF$_2$ is obligatory as well as DQF$_3$ (*kunu'*). A further difference is that the two *Direct Quotation* types have no sign of quote tagmeme while the *Indirect Quotation* types have such an optional sign expounded by two particles.

To compose an unambiguous *Direct Quotation* or an unambiguous *Indirect Quotation*, the Ashleys offer two rules: (1) "An unambiguous *Direct Quotation* has the DQF$_2$ repeated at least once." While this repetition of DQF$_2$ may not occur in either of the *Indirect Quotation* types, it is possible in the *Direct Quotation*. The absence of the *Sign of Quote* does not conclusively point to a *Direct Quotation Sentence*, in that this tagmeme, while not occurring in the *Direct Quotation* is only optional in the *Indirect Quotation*. (2) "An unambiguous *Indirect Quotation* has a *Sign of Quote* or a DQF$_3$ which imbeds within the *Base* which is thereby shown to be an exponent of *Indirect Quotation* tagmeme".

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[36] I assume here that although Seymour and Lois Ashley indicate that one of the two formulas, DQF 1 or DQF 2, must occur, nevertheless in Tausug as in the other languages a *Direct Quotation* may appear without a *Quotation Formula* provided that the context is clear.

2.6.4 Indirect Question

Of the further types of Quotational or Quasi-quotational Sentences posited in various languages, one frequent type is the Indirect Question. While in some of the languages the Indirect Question is considered to be simply a subtype of the Indirect Quotation, there are other languages where it has been considered to be a separate type, viz. Agta, Atta Negrito, Balangao, Bontoc, Inibaloi, Kalinga, and Siocon Subanon--with similar structures in Aborlan Tagbanwa and Kalamian Tagbanwa.

The matter of whether a specific Indirect Question type is posited or not is apparently more a matter of differing analyses than of differing structures. Most, if not all the languages have some such structure as the following: Quotation Formula expounded by clauses containing the verb 'ask' (usually plus some other verbs as well) followed by a particle 'if'/ 'whether' (often the same as the Relator found in the Conditional Margin), followed by a Quotation often expounded by Interrogative Clauses. Languages differ chiefly in: (1) what verbs are included in the set which expounds Predicate in the Quotation Formula of such structures; (2) whether the Quotation expresses alternatives or not.

Thus, in Agta the following sentences are distinguished:

Pāhig	ku	ta	hād	eyān	na.
thought	I	sign	where	go	he

i.e. 'I wondered where he was going.' But there also occur such sentences as:

Ibāh	ku	tentu	am	hād	agyān	na	dalān.
ask	I	him	sign	where	place		trail

i.e. 'I'll ask him where the trail is'. Roy Mayfield analyzes the first as an Indirect Quotation, the second as an Indirect Question. While both sentences express uncertainty, the former has the verb 'think' and the Sign ta 'that' of the Indirect Quotation, the latter has the verb 'ask' and the Sign am 'if' of what Mayfield analyzes as the Indirect Question. Although 'think' does not occur in the Quotation Formula of the Indirect Question, the following Agta verbs do: 'see', 'try', 'consider', 'hear/listen', '(don't) know'. Some examples clearly imply a second alternative: 'Ask them later if they want to cut grass tomorrow.' Presumably the Agta Alternation Sentence can expound the Quotation tagmeme of the Indirect Question.

In Binukid (Manobo) a posited interrogative subtype of the Indirect Quotation is even more structurally distinct from the corresponding non-interrogative subtype than are the Agta structures compared above. Thus, while the non-interrogative Indirect Quotation has two preposed Quotation Formulas, the interrogative subtype has but one such tagmeme expounded by *insa* 'ask' and by other verbs meaning such things as 'plan' and '(don't) know'. The *Sign* of the latter is also distinct in that is is expounded by *ku* 'if'. The *Quotation* in the interrogative subtype is in every case an Interrogative Clause with such words as 'what', 'where', 'when', 'how'. Alternatives are not expressed in the *Quotation Sentence* but rather in a separate *Alternation Sentence* that also has an (obligatory) quotation-like formula: 'We'll try looking whether...' 'He divined whether ...' 'I don't know whether...' and 'We were worried whether...'. It seems that in the following sentence the verb 'ask' could be substituted for the words 'don't know' in the Binukid (Manobo) sentence: 'I don't know whether the captured Japanese were taken to Malaybalay or to Cagayan.' It is possible, therefore, that the interrogative subtype of *Indirect Quotation* can not only be detached from the type to which it is presently assigned but combined as a sentence type with the *Alternation Sentence*. The situation is complicated, however, by the fact that the *Direct Quotation* also has an interrogative subtype with the *Sign ku* 'if' rather than *hu* or *ha* 'that' (cf. 2.6.1). The *Sign* is, however, optional in both subtypes of the *Direct Quotation* while both subtypes also have two preposed *Quotation Formulas*. Possibly, then, the interrogative subtype belongs to the *Direct Quotation* to which it is assigned.

In Western Bukidnon Manobo, Richard Elkins does not set up explicitly an interrogative subtype of the *Indirect Quotation Sentence*--although he keeps *kagi* 'say' and *insà* 'ask' apart somewhat in his formulaic representation. It is true that the *Quotation Formula* involving *insà* 'ask' co-occurs with the *Sign ke* 'if'. It might, therefore, seem initially plausible to posit an *Indirect Question Sentence*. On the other hand, when the kernel of the string expounding *Quotation* is a command, *kagi* co-occurs with *Sign te* 'that'. Otherwise, i.e. when the string expounding *Quotation* is a statement rather than a question or a command, the *Sign he* 'that' occurs. If we are to posit an *Indirect Question Sentence*, why not also an *Indirect Command Sentence*? It appears, therefore, that Elkins has been judicious in considering these three to be, in effect, subtypes which are conditioned by the co-occurrence of particular verbs with particular exponents of *Sign*.

The *Alternation Sentence* as posited by Elkins also involves an (obligatory) preposed *Formula* and the *Sign ke*. The preposed *Formula* involves such verbs as 'see', 'look out to see', '(not/might) know' as in 'I'll see whether (*ke*) he returned home or whether (*wey*) continued he'. It is obvious here that the structures described by Elkins are very similar to those described by Ursula Post for Binukid (Manobo). It is also evident that the overall analyses are not dissimilar.

In Kalamian Tagbanwa, Edward Ruch sets up a sentence type in which the *Alternation Sentence* and *Indirect Question* are combined--an analytical possibility suggested above. A wide class of verbs figure in the obligatory *Quotation Formula*, e.g. 'to see', 'don't know', plus many other verbs that appear at least from the standpoint of English translation to figure in elliptical expressions: 'A warning shot was fired at him [to see] whether he would surrender or not'; 'It's your desire [to see] whether or not you can rush me'; '...so that I may drink it [to see] what (*kung* 'if' + *unu* 'what') is the reason he is causing me to return there'. Ruch further points out that a yes/no question can be expanded to an alternative question, i.e. 'He asked will he come' can be expanded to 'he asked will he come or not'. But a content request embedded question cannot be thus expanded, i.e. 'He asked what was going on' has no alternative such as *'He asked what was going on or not'.

In similar fashion, Gordon Svelmoe (Mansaka) combines the *Alternative Sentence* and *Indirect Question* into what he calls a *Query Sentence*. The (obligatory) preposed *Query Formula* is expounded by various verbs and expressions including 'ask', 'your thoughts' and some elliptical strings: 'The shaman was chanting [to see] whether there was a spirit in this place and whether you are angry' and 'He interviewed the doctor [to see] whether he had any sickness or not'.

Before leaving this discussion of *Indirect Question* sentence it is worth noting that in Aborlan Tagbanwa, Stewart Hussey posits not only an *Indirect Alternative Question* (as does Ruch in Kalamian Tagbanwa) but also a *Direct Alternative Question*. The latter is illustrated in the two following examples; in contrast with the *Indirect Alternative Question* it does not employ the *Signs* *in...in* 'if...if' (i.e. 'whether...or'); and its introductory *Formula* is an interrogative clause:

Ta	*unay*	*rundingan*	*tami*	*kaitu*	*tumulus*	*pa*	*unu*	*manggid*	*ega*	*na*.
	what	decision	we	this	look		what	further	negative	

'What is our decision to be on this: shall we continue (looking) or not (go on looking)?'

Unay	*rundingan*	*kaitu*	*muli*	*tami*	*kaiti*	*unu*	*manggid*	*mapanaw*	*naga*.
what	decision	this	return	we	now	what	further	hunt	also

'What is our decision about this: shall we return home or go on hunting for pigs?'

Rosemary Rodda sets up for Batak an *Alternation Sentence* in which there is an optional preposed *Formula*. Some examples are similar to Hussey's *Direct Alternative Question*: 'Which do you want to do: whether (*in*) ride or (*in*) walk?' Others are more similar to *Indirect Questions*: 'The Barrio Captain asked if (*in*) we would go ahead with the fiesta or (*in*) not'. Note, however, that the structures are not distinct as in Aborlan Tagbanwa but seem properly to belong to the same sentence type. An example without the preposed *Formula* occurs which does not have the *in...in* 'if...if' particles; apparently the occurrence of these particles depends on the occurrence of the preposed *Formula*: 'Near the sea [or] far away?', i.e. 'Is it near the sea or far away?'

2.6.5 *Equational Quotation Sentences*

In four languages of northern Luzon (Atta Negrito, Itneg, Balangao, and Bontoc), an *Equational Quotation Sentence* is posited. In every case the construction is essentially bipartite with a noun phrase which contains a nominalized *Quotation Formula* as the first half. That is, a *Quotation Formula* such as 'he said' is transformed to 'That-which he said [was]...'. The structure of the second part varies.

In Atta Negrito (Ruth Lusted), either a *Direct* or an *Indirect Quotation* may be made an *Equational Quotation*. The *Direct Quotation* typically has a postposed *Quotation Formula* such as *kun na* 'he said'. The *Indirect Quotation* has a preposed *Quotation Formula* and a *Sign of Indirect Quote* (*ta*, *nga*). The *Equational Quotation* has an obligatory *Sign* (*ta*) of quote whether the quotation be intended as indirect or direct. It is direct, however, only when the postposed *Direct Quotation Formula* occurs. Note the following examples:

Indirect subtype:

A	*ya*	*kinagi*	*ra*	*ta*	*tumuttul*	*kami*	*nakuan*.
conjunction	that	said	they	(sign)	follow	we	would

'And that's what they said, that we should follow them.'

Ya	*kagiak*	*ku*	*nikayu*,	*Kaludia*	*ka*	*Lus*,	*ta*	*mabi*	*kayu*	*la*	*mattoli*.
that	say	I	to-you	Claudia	and	Ruth	(sign)	soon	you	only	return

'That's what I say to you, Claudia and Ruth, that you just return soon.'

Direct subtype:

A	*ya*	*kagian*	*ni*	*aká*	*nikán*,	*ta*	"*Awák*	*ka*
conjunction	that	say	marker	brother	to-me	(sign)	none	you

panò	lâ	ta	pannonotán	nikán?"	kun	na.
suppose	only	the	thinking	of-me	said	he

'And that's what brother says to me, that "I am to suppose that you don't really think of me?" he said.'

Yá	pá má	gangù	kinagi	na	Liloy	ta	"Nu	ume
that	furthermore	before	said	marker	Liloy	(sign)	if	comes

si	káyung	bì	sawá,	ariám	mu	bì lábbì	iyawâ	yù
marker	bro-in-law	just	here	don't	you	please	give	the

badáng	na,	ta	ajjas	sawe	yù	akkuák	ku	kuna,"	kun
bolo	his	because	there-is	here	the	doing	I	with-it	said

na	kanu	ni	Liloy.
he	reported speech	marker	Liloy

'That furthermore is what Liloy said before, that "If brother-in-law comes here, please don't give him his bolo, because I have a use for it here," said Liloy.'

In Itneg, there are also indirect and direct subtypes of the Equational Quotation Sentence. One consistent difference between the Direct and Indirect Sentences is preserved in the sub-types of the Equational Quotation Sentence, viz. the absence of any Sign of quote tagmeme in the former and the obligatory presence of such a tagmeme in the latter. Thus the first two examples below are the direct subtype, while the third, which contains the Sign nga is the indirect subtype.

Sit	kon	na,	"Manan	nobigat."
the	said	he	go	tomorrow

'This is what he said, "Go tomorrow."'

Sit	kon	na,	"Inakon	inten	sit	liblo."
the	said	he,	go-I	get	the	book

'This is what he said, "I will go and get the book."'

Sita	kon	ka	nga	manggagamot.
the	said	they	(sign)	a poisoner that one

'This is what they said, that a poisoner was that one.'

In Balangao the nominalized Quotation Formula--which expounds Base 1 tagmeme--is followed by one of four embedded sentence structures that expound Base 2: Direct Quote, Indirect Quote, *Indirect Question*, and *Merged Sentence 3* (a highly specialized type of *Indirect Quote* which is similar to the Bontoc *Sensate Sentence* mentioned under Sec. 2.5.3). It is immediately evident that the *Equational Sentence* as thus constituted contrasts with any of the other *Quotation Sentence* types by virtue of being a more inclusive structure which can embed most of the other *Quotation Sentences*. Certain deletions are possible in the *Equational Quotation Sentence*. For example when the verb *ekat* 'say' occurs in *Base 1* the preposed *Formulas* and *Signs* of the sentence embedded in *Base 2* may be deleted but with the following restrictions: "The signals [*Signs*] may occur without the formulae, however, the formulae may not occur without the signals." Thus, we have the Balangao equivalents of 'What he said [was] that they are carrying two people'; and 'What he said [was] they're carrying two people'; and 'What he said [was] he said that they're carrying two people'.

In Bontoc the *Equational Quotation Sentence* is more restricted in that it may embed only a *Direct Quotation Sentence* in its *Base 2*. The embedded *Direct Quotation Sentence* either has both the preposed *Formula* and the *Sign of Quote* or neither. Both these options are exemplified in the two following sentences:

Nan	*kanana*,	*kanana*	*en*	"*Teeltakos*	*wakas*."
the	say-he	say-he	(sign)	holiday-we-at	tomorrow

'What he said was, he said that "Let's have a holiday tomorrow."'

Nan	*kanana*	*ad*	*ganad*,	"*Maid*	*somsomgep*."
the	say-he	at	before	none	enter

'What he said before was, "Nobody can enter."'

In the languages of Mindanao, *Equational Quotation Sentences* have not usually been posited (although such is suggested by Nancy Howison for Tagabili). Rather, in some languages (e.g. Dibabawon Manobo, Ilianen Manobo,[37] and Bilaan) an *Equational Sentence* type is posited in which the *Equational Quotation* figures as a subtype. Thus, in Dibabawon, sentences that begin 'All that we had to do was...' 'The reason I came was...' and 'His instructions to me were...'[38] are all considered to be sentences of the same type. When quotation is involved it is of the indirect rather than of the direct variety. In Ilianen Manobo a very similar type called the *Equivalent Sentence* is likewise posited. Some of the examples of this sentence type appear to be transformations of *Indirect Quotation Sentences* which do not involve verbs of speech in their preposed *Formulas*; other such sentences are more general. Note the following translations of two such Ilianen Manobo sentences; the first is apparently a transformation of an *Indirect Quotation Sentence*; the second is not: 'That which you remember is that when the sun is low you will go'. '...That which Ukap did was to cry there at the bottom of the water.' The *Equational Sentence* of Koronadal Bilaan may include examples which embed whole *Direct Quotation Sentences* (as in Bontoc); but this sentence is not restricted to such examples. Thus, there are such Koronadal Bilaan sentences as 'What they fear (is) they fear Satan' and also such sentences as 'What I thought was I said "God, you are the one who knows."'

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[37] In Binukid (Manobo) a similar *Reason Sentence* is posited with such examples as 'The reason I returned here was...' and 'The reason we made our home here was...'. But no *Equational Quotation* subtypes of this sentence are posited. (See sec. 2.7).

[38] In Dibabawon Manobo a preposed particle *iyan* 'that' is considered to function as an equator rather than head of a nominalized phrase. In Atta Negrito above the particle *ya* is similarly analyzed.

Why are not such structures simply Equational Clauses in that the latter structure is also posited in Philippine languages? The answer is that the structures are different on the two levels. Norman Abrams describes the transformation of an *Equational Sentence* to an Equational Clause as follows:

"*Ye*	*kanliko-la*	*liko*	*ale*	*ku*	*Satanas*.
that	feared-they	afraid		they	Satan

'What they're afraid is, they're afraid of Satan.'

> "In the preceding example, the deictic phrase 'What they're afraid of' reinforces the object (non-topic) of the *Sentence Base* (Satan). The cross-referenced object differs from a *Sentence Topic* in that this object occurs with preposed obligatory demonstrative while a *Sentence Topic* occurs with postposed optional demonstrative.
>
> "A transformation of *Equational Sentence* to Equational Clause results in radical deletion within in the *Sentence Base*; only the relevant noun phrase remains. In *Equational Sentence* (1) above *liko ale ku Satanas* is the *Sentence Base* which reduces to the noun phrase *Satanas* in the transformation to Equational Clause (# is for long pause):

Ye *kanlikola* # *Satanas*.

'What they fear is Satan.'"

In Western Bukidnon Manobo, Richard Elkins does not set up an *Equational Quotation Sentence* in that he considers an initial *iyan* 'that' to be neither a sentence-level equator (as analyzed in Dibabawon Manobo) nor the head of a noun phrase filling an *Equational Base 1* (as in Ilianen Manobo) but simply an emphatic element that may occur in the *Quotation Formula* of the *Direct Quotation Sentence*, which may begin with 'he said...', '(his) word' (*lalag*) or 'emphatic (his) word' (*iyan lalag*). In that all three languages are Manobo and in that the structures are presumably not greatly different these alternative analyses need to be carefully evaluated. It is evident, however, that in both Dibabawon and Ilianen Manobo an inclusive *Equational Sentence* is posited in which *Indirect Quotation* figures, while in Western Bukidnon Manobo, Elkins evidently does not set up such a pattern on the sentence level at all but relegates *iyan* to the status of an element on the phrase level. Whether there is justification for considering that *iyan* (and similar elements) act in at least some languages as sentence level equative particles or are always better analyzed as demonstratives, emphatics or the like (in phrases which may, of course have important sentence-level functions) is a question that requires further investigation.

2.6.6 Further *Quotational Sentence* types, and sentences of similar structure

There are various specialized patterns of *Non-Speech Indirect Quotations* that are posited as sentence types in various languages. In addition, further non-quotational sentence types occur that are formally similar to quotations. There is something basically similar about all these types in that they employ some sort of preposed formula tagmeme--a correlation first noted and exploited by Ursula Post in Binukid (Manobo).

In Bontoc, Balangao, Atta Negrito, and Western Bukidnon Manobo there is posited a *Non-speech Quotation Sentence* with a verb 'think' in its preposed *Formula*. In the first two languages the construction is all but identical. The verb 'say' is used but means 'mistakenly think' in this context. Lawrence Reid makes a good case for the contrastive status of this sentence type in Bontoc. Two Bontoc examples follow:

Kanak	*mo*	*adikayo*	*omali*.
said/thought-I	link	negative-you	come

'I thought you weren't coming.'

Kananda	*en*	*aw-ay*	*maid*	*ipogaw*	*sina*.
said/though-they	link	maybe	none	people	here

'They thought there were probably no people here.'

A similar sentence type is posited by Ruth Lusted for Atta Negrito but she adds on the end an optional element which consists of *nga* 'but' plus an *Antithesis*. Again, the verb 'say' is used in the specialized meaning 'mistakenly think':

Kagian	na	ta	mattoli	ngámin	tolay	nga	ari	gemmá	yaw.
said/thought	he	that	return	all	people	link	not	of-course	this

'He thought that all the people would return but this didn't happen of course.'

Kagian	naw	ta	iraw	yù	atáwa	na.
said/thought	you	that	snake	the	husband	her

'You thought that her husband was a snake.'

The obvious similarity of this sentence type to the Antithetical Sentence raises a problem. Could this be handled simply as a subtype of the Antithetical? In the Antithetical Sentence, however, while deletion of the first member (Thesis) is not unusual the deletion of the second member is irregular; usually at least the 'but' is found: 'I want to go but...' (reason better left unsaid!).

Richard Elkins for Western Bukidnon Manobo, posits two additional sentence types, i.e. a Mental Indirect Quote and the Mistaken Impression Quote. The former involves not just the verb 'think' but similar verbs such as 'have an inkling', and 'dream'. Nothing is implied as to the validity of the thought. To appreciate the structural features that distinguish this type from the Indirect Quotation one must go more deeply into the quasi-clausal characteristics of the two structures than our present space permits. Two of Elkins' examples follow:

Egkeisin	ku	is	ed-ulĭ	ad.
think	I	sign	go-home	I-completive

'I think I'll go home now.'

Guntaan	kun	meisip	he	egkesuat	a	he	egkaan.
now	I-completive	think	sign	like	I	ligature	eat

'Now I think I'd like to eat.'

Elkins' other type, the Mistaken Impression Quotation is quite similar to those described above for Bontoc and Balangao--except that a special form kunaan 'mistaken impression' is used instead of the verb 'say' in specialized meaning. Examples follow:

Kunaan	ku	ke	egkeulug	key	en.
mistaken impression	I		fall	we	completive

'I thought we were going to fall.'

Kunaan	nu	vuwa	ke	menge	tarù.
mistaken impression	you	perhaps	sign	plural	lie

'Perhaps you thought that they were lies.'

In both Western Bukidnon Manobo and Binukid (Manobo) an Inference Sentence is posited. In Binukid (Manobo) the preposed Formula is expounded only by timaan 'it is evident'/'(we) can see'. In Western Bukidnon Manobo two classes of items occur in the clauses that expound the preposed Formula: (1) verbs such as 'see', 'know', 'guess', and 'have an opinion'; and (2) descriptives such as 'true', 'clear', and 'false'. Thus in Binukid (Manobo) occur the examples:

Timaan	ta	hu	madaet	sa	kanak	ha	buhat.
(we)-can-see		that	bad	the	my	ligature	deed

'We can see that my deeds were bad!'

Timaan	ta	ha	agkauhul	sidan.
(we)-can-see		that	hungry	they

'We can see that they are hungry.'

And in Western Bukidnon Manobo:

Netuenan	ku	he	wazè	nu	lutù.
know	I	sign	there-is-none	your	lunch

'I know that you have no lunch.'

Tutuu	iyan	he	merasey	is	kandan.
true	emphasis	sign	difficult		theirs

'It is really true that their situation is difficult.'

Jean Shand posits for Ilianen Manobo an Indirect Reference Sentence that contains within its preposed Formula rather diverse lexical material similar not only to that found in the Inference Sentence but also to that found in the Mistaken Impression or Thought Quotations. Thus, Shand lists elements in the preposed Formula with such meanings as 'perhaps' (= 'It's possible that...'), 'probably' (= 'It's probable that...'), 'see that you don't...', 'consider that...', 'mistakenly thought that...' (kunaan, as in Western Bukidnon Manobo), and even an interrogative 'why that...'. The Sign associated with the Formula is ke.

...kalu	ke	kena'	ebehey.
probably	that	not	give

'...probably they won't give.'

Pegitung	ka,	Kerangag,	ke	endei	ki	ebpekeuli'	su	netarin
consider	you	Kerangag	that	where	we	can-return	because	lost

ki	ini.
we	here

'Consider, Herangag, where our path home might be because we are lost here.'

Kunaan	nu	ra'	be,	Anu',	ke	edlegleheran	key	nikuna.
thought	you	only	indeed	Anu'	that	selfish	we	you

'You mistakenly thought, Anu', that you could be selfish with us.'

Western Bukidnon Manobo has an Inference Sentence which, as we have seen, includes such descriptives as 'true', 'false' and 'clear' in its preposed Formula. By contrast, Binukid (Manobo) has only timaan 'it is evident' followed by the Sign ha/hu 'that' in its Inference Sentence. For Binukid (Manobo) Ursula Post also posits, however, a Benefit Sentence with such descriptives as maayad 'good', lamig 'better' and laingen 'best' in its preposed Formula followed by the Sign ta 'that'. Thus:

Maayad	ta	amin	day	duma.
good	that	there-is	our	companion

'It's good that we have a companion.'

Laingen	ta	ta	pagtukidan	ta	sa	agtrabahuwen	ta.
best	us	that	individual	we	the	work	our

'It's best that we each have our own work.'

Post also posits a further Comparative Sentence with a more complicated structure: (a) suga 'better' appears in the preposed Formula followed by the Sign ha 'that'. (b) Then follows a Sentence Base which expresses preference. (c) Although the sentence may terminate here, a further Sign or Link dì, 'than' may follow along with a Sentence Base which expresses what is less prefereble. Notice the following rather long and full example:

Suga	pa	ha	duun	ad	hu	laing	magtimà	ta	bisan
better	particle	that	there	I	the	other	live	because	even

hu	hadì	a	pagpandayan	ta	kenà	ku	mga	laas	dì
though	not	I	care-for	because	not	my	plural	parent	than

ku	duun	a	magtimà	hu	mga	laas	ku	ha	hadì	en
if	there	I	live	the	plural	parent	my	ligature	not	particle

daan	pagpandayaan	kandan.
also	care-for	they

'It's better that I live with someone else although he won't take care of me in that he isn't my parent than to live with my parents who won't take care of me.'

In both Bontoc and Balangao occurs a further type of Quotation Sentence that Lawrence Reid and Joanne Shetler refer to as the Referential Quote Sentence. This Quotation Sentence employs in its preposed Formula the verb 'say' (Bontoc kan; Balangao ekat) with the specialized meaning 'refer to as' or 'call'. It is often used to introduce a new term or to explain a term. It is a specialized grammatical pattern much more restricted than the Indirect Quotation Sentence. In Balangao there is a variant of this sentence with Sign way instead of én in which ekat 'say' is translated as 'that's how they'. In Balangao this sentence type occurs only embedded as modifier of head in a noun phrase. This is also its most frequent distribution in Bontoc. In the following examples the parts of the matrix sentence which do not belong to the embedded Referential Quote are enclosed in parenthesis.

Bontoc examples:

(Kag	man	nan)	kananyos	di	en	bomoda.
like		the	say-you-at	there	(sign)	bomoda

'It's like what you refer to there as bomoda.'

(Mo	inbogaw	nan)	makwani	en	pomatay	sinan	ili...
when	proclaim	the	called	(sign)	sacrificer	of-the-village	

'When those who are referred to as the village sacrificers proclaim...'

Balangao examples:

(Yadin)	ekatda	én	man-umis.
that-the	call-they	(sign)	sweet

'(That's what) they call sweet (wine).'

(Yadi	hen)	ekatda	way	manhamal.
that	the	how-they	(sign)	plant

'That's how they plant.'

Balangao and Tausug contain two further sentence types that are presented here in that they involve the use of a preposed Formula tagmeme. In this respect they resemble the Quotation Sentences. Furthermore, they are restricted to DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS.

The Balangao *Rhetorical Question Sentence* expounds REMARK (possibly in some cases COUNTER-REMARK) within the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH (cf. Vol. I, Part 2, Sec. 5). It has an initial *Rhetorical Formula* expounded by *amoh*, which interacts with the following sentence *Base* (expounded by clause or embedded sentence) to give an ironical turn to the rhetorical question--so that an overt negative implies a strong positive and an overt positive implies a strong negative.

Amoh	*adig*	*màpat*	(*yag*	*nokagé*	*hen*	*iyuloh*	*nò*?)
rhetorical	negative	wet	link	what	the	blanket	exclamation

'It won't get wet! (and what will you use for a blanket then!)'
[Implication: 'Of course, it will get wet!']

Amoh	*pat*	*masapol*	*ha*.
rhetorical	exactly	necessary	that

'Is that, of all things necessary? [Implication: 'Of course it's not!']'

The Tausug *Refutation Sentence* expounds COUNTER-REMARK in a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. The sentence is exclamatory and asseverative by virtue of an initial *Formula* expounded by *sin* 'whereas', 'really'. The *Base* is expounded by a clause or imbedded sentence.

Sin	*bukun*	*aku*	*in*	*nagtakaw*	*sin*	*lahing*.
whereas	not	I		stole		coconuts

'Whereas it was not I who stole the coconuts!'

Sin	*nagputing*	*kaw*	*kaku'*.
whereas	lie	you	me

'You did so lie to me!'

2.7 Sentence types that are elaborations of Equational Clauses

Equational Quotation Sentences are mentioned in 2.6.5 along with indication that in several languages a more inclusive *Equational Sentence* is posited of which the *Equational Quotation Sentence* is a subtype. It is argued in this same section that such *Equational Sentences* outrun in scope and complexity the clause structures that they resemble.

The Dibabawon Manobo *Equational Sentence* is carefully described by Jannette Forster. It turns on a sentence-initial equative-demonstrative particle *iyan* 'that/it is...'. The exponents of the two following *Bases* are carefully matched according to cooccurrence restrictions: Thus, (1) if *Base 1* is a transformation of a *Direct Quote Formula*, then *Base 2* is a transformation of a *Direct Quotation*, as in 'What you said was

"Don't go"'. Similarly, (2) if Base 1 is a transformation of an Indirect Quotation Formula, then Base 2 is a transformation of an Indirect Quotation, as in: 'What you said was that I shouldn't go'. (3) There are similar specifications for the Verbal Clause which expounds Base 1 when Base 2 incorporates the exponent of a Cause Margin as in 'The reason I came to fetch you is because we will perform a ceremony'. (4) When Base 1 is expounded by a Verbal Clause with such verbs as 'make/do', or 'proceed-to-do', then Base 2 is a Verbal Clause with the preposed Relator to 'that'. (5) When Base 1 is expounded by a gerundial phrase (verb prefixed with pag-), Base 2 may be expounded by an incorporated exponent of Time Margin. Finally (6) Base 1 and Base 2 may be expounded by the exponents of Comment and Topic of the Equational Clause (called Identificational Clause by Forster)--but the introduction of the sentence-level equative particle iyan and the greater potential complexity of the resulting construction indicates that there has been movement to a higher hierarchical level, viz. the sentence. Examples below follow of subtype (4), (5), and (6). (Subtype 3 has been illustrated in Sec. 2.4.4.4. Subtypes 1 and 2 are of the sort illustrated in Sec. 2.6.6).

"Di	kunto-on	iyan	ogpadayunon	tanow	to	ogdaahon	noy
but	now	it-is	proceed	we	relator	bring	we

ikow	diya	to	duktul."
you	there	relator	doctor

'But now what we will proceed to do is that we will take you to a doctor.'

Dini	kanami,	iyan	paghipanow	ta	ko	ogdakoo	to	udan.
here	us	it-is	going	we	when	big	relator	rain

'Here in our place, the time we go (pig-hunting) is when it rains a lot.'

Iyan	ulu-ulu	dan	no	mangayow	si	Pinamailan.
it-is	head	their	ligature	raider	personal relator	Pinamailan

'The one who was their leading raider was Pinamailan.'

In Ilianen Manobo, Jean Shand sets up an order of Equivalence Sentences. The first such sentence, which she terms the Equivalent Sentence is parallel to the Dibabawon Manobo sentence just described but more restricted in subtypes. Shand regards the initial particle iyan not as a sentence-level equative particle but as head of a noun phrase and nominalizer of the nominalized clause that expounds Base 1. An obligatory medial Marker expounded by se is regarded as the sentence-level equative particle.

Iyan	nu	ra'	edtentenuran	se	egkeveladna'	ka	andew	ne	ed-ipanew	ke	en.
that	you	only	remember	marker	low	the	sun	and	go	you	now

'That which you remember is that when the sun is low you will go.'

Iyan	nu	en	ebpulungan	te	merukilem	meandew	se	ebpemukpuk	ka.
that	you	now	do	at	night	day	marker	clap-hands	you

'That which you did night and day was to clap your hands.'

Shand's second type in this order is one that she calls the *Merged Sentence*. Like the sentence type just described it has a medial *Marker* expounded by *se*; unlike that sentence type it has no initial *iyan*. The first *Base* has a verb "from a restricted list of action verbs", such as 'stand up', 'proceed', 'go down', 'go', 'disturb', etc. While the presence of *se* makes for a certain resemblance of this type to the *Equivalent Sentence*, nevertheless, it is clearly a *Merged Sentence* in that there is a shared Topic tagmeme (of the two component clauses) which is either the Actor of both clauses or the Goal of the first and the Actor of the second. These two subtypes are illustrated respectively in examples one and two:

Ne	kena'	ad	ini	edlaus	se	pengireha'	(su	wara'	duma	ku.)
then	not	I	here	proceed	marker	camp-out	because	not	companion	my

'I will not proceed to camp out (because I have no companion).'

Egkerembiyur	ki	en	se	ebpeeneng-eneng.
disturbed	we	now	marker	resting

'We are disturbed now from resting.'

The third type, in this order, which contains the same medial *Marker se*, is called by Shand the *Quasi-clausal Sentence*. Her argument that this sentence type resembles a clause but is nevertheless a sentence structure is worth quoting:

> "The Quasi-clausal Sentence resembles a clause in that the sequence marker + Base (equivalent) is similar to a topic noun phrase on the clause level. The Quasi-clausal Sentence contrasts with a clause in that (1) a topic noun phrase is introduced by the relator ke rather than the marker se and (2) a noun phrase introduced by ke does not permit the degree of recursion in the head slot which is permitted following the marker se."

Angin	be	perem	te	hinawa	ku	se	egkesuat	a	ne	eduma...
have	indeed	hope	the	feelings	I	marker	want	I	link	go

'I have the feelings that I want to go...'

...netuenan	ke	en	se	iyan	ebuyuen	dut	datu'	ke	kati
know	you	now	marker	that	beg	there	datu	the	wildcock

ku	ini.
I	here

'...you know now that that which the datu will beg for is my wild cock.'

In Koronadal Bilaan Norman Abrams posits an Equational Sentence with an initial demonstrative-equative particle ye which is much like the iyan which is found in some Manobo dialects.

Yé	kanliko-la	likò	ale	ku	Satanas.
that	feared-they	afraid	they		Satan

'What they're afraid is, they're afraid of Satan.'

Yé	talù-la	talù	ale	Malikano.
that	talk-their	talk	they	American

'What they speak is, they speak American.'

In Aborlan Tagbanwa, Stewart Hussey posits an Equational Sentence in which no sort of equative particle occurs. The first Base contains either a negative expression 'nothing else' or one of the following verbs: 'make/do', 'happen', 'discover'. When the negative expression egay beken 'nothing else' occurs, an optional element in da-ga 'if not/except' may occur in Base 2.

Enggay	beken	nga	binuat	nira	in	da-ga	ipiag-asawa	na.
negative	other	ligature	did	they	if	negative	gave in marriage	

'They didn't do anything else: they gave their children in marriage.'

Enggay	beken	inlep	nira	na.
negative	other	approach	they	

'(They) didn't do anything else: they came near (to the tree).'

Tiana-an	it	surutan	da-gay	panga-en	ya.
happened		sultan	negative	food	his

'What happened to the sultan: he had no food.'

Bati-an	ku	biakal	aku	na	ni	Biug	it	besak.
discover	I	speared	me			Biug		spear

'What I discovered: Biug speared me with a spear.'

3 Systems of sentence types

Just as the sentence margin tagmemes of a language constitute a system, so the sentence types themselves--as classified by their contrastive nuclei--constitute a system. The positing of a sentence system within a given language depends, however, on several factors: (1) the exhaustive cataloguing of all sentence types in the language; (2) the proper attention to criteria of contrast so that neither are contrastive types combined nor are subtypes treated as full types; (3) the recognition of significant parameters of contrastive features among sentence types. Factor number (2) cannot be treated as a wholly separate consideration from number (3)--in that the structure of an emerging system is a relevant factor in positinging contrasts among sentence types. Nevertheless, without some consistent criteria of contrast,[39] a taxonomy of the sort involved in a sentence system is impossible.

Aside from Bontoc and Balangao, the systems posited for Philippine languages are either two-tiered or three-tiered systems. Both sorts of systems involve a parameter having to do with the relative degree of cohesion, internal restriction, freedom of permutation, and lexical dependence. In two-tiered systems two values of this parameter are distinguished, viz. *Loose* and *Tight*. In three-tiered systems a third value of this parameter is posited, viz. *Balanced*. Besides this parameter, which has to do with the *degree* of union between the parts of the sentence there is a further parameter which treats of the *kind* of union.[40] Are the parts of the sentence in some quasi-appositional relation; are they chained to each other; do they constitute an opposition; do they constitute an implicit or explicit implication, or do they involve speech about speech? When sentence types can be grouped according to some such categories as these we note progress along another parameter whose values are more akin to those found in the statement calculus of symbolic logic.

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[39] Cf. my *Grammar Discovery Procedures* pp. 17-23; 'Trique Clause and Sentence' IJAL 32. 251-252; as well as Vol. I, Introduction.

[40] I am indebted to Kenneth Maryott for this pair of terms which summarize well the relevant parameters of most sentence systems posited in the project.

3.1 Western Bukidnon Manobo

For Western Bukidnon Manobo, Richard Elkins constructs a two by eight system which divides into two subsystems of two by four structure. The second subsystem is distinguished from the first in that its eight sentence types are all characterized by the presence of a formula-like initial element in the nucleus. Furthermore, portmanteau exponents of clause and sentence-level tagmemes occur only in the sentence types of the second subsystem. The vertical parameter of both subsystems has the two values *Loose* and *Tight*. Within the first subsystem the horizontal parameter has the values *Quasi-clausal*, *Concatenated*, *Parallel*, and *Condition*. *Quasi-clausal* includes *Simple* (2.1) and *Merged Sentence* (2.5). *Concatenated* includes *Coordinate* (2.2.1) and *Sequence* (2.3.1). *Parallel* includes *Paraphrase* (2.3.2) and *Antithetical* (2.2.2). *Condition* includes *Contrary to Fact* (2.4.5) and *Specific Conditional* (2.4.5). Within the second subsystem the horizontal parameter has the values *Entailment*, *Implication*, *Quotation*, and *Quasi-quotation*. *Entailment* includes *Reason-Action* (2.4.4) and *Question-Answer* (2.3.4) *Sentences*. *Implication* includes *Alternation* (2.2.3) and *Inference Sentences* (2.6.6). *Quotation* includes *Direct* (2.6.1) and *Indirect Quotes* (2.6.2). *Quasi-quotation* includes *Mental Indirect Quote* (2.6.6) and the *Mistaken Impression Indirect Quote* (2.6.6). The accompanying diagrams (8A-8B) are adapted from Elkin's unpublished paper.

	QUASI-CLAUSAL	CONCATENATED	PARALLEL	CONDITION
LOOSE	Simple	Coordinate ...wey... 'and'	Paraphrase ...ne kuwinta.. 'that is'	Condition Contrary to Fact ke... 'if'...past...
TIGHT	Merged	Sequence ...ne human... 'then'	Antithetical ...iyan 'but'.. (neg)...kekenè 'but'...(pos)	Specific Conditional wey...ke 'then...if'

WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO

SENTENCE SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 8 A

	ENTAILMENT	IMPLICATION	QUOTATION	QUASI-QUOTATION
LOOSE	Reason-Action 'reason/therefore' ...su 'because...'	Alternation 'I'll see whether' + Alternative... 'or whether' + Alternative	Direct Quote 'X said he said that "..."'	Mental Indirect Quote 'I think that...'
TIGHT	Question-Answer 'Ah, what...?' + Answer	Inference 'we see that...' + Base	Indirect Quote 'He said that...'	Mistaken Impression Quote 'I mistakenly thought that...'

WESTERN BUKIDNON MANOBO

SENTENCE SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 8 B

3.2 Ata Manobo

The Ata Manobo system described by Patricia Hartung is a somewhat simpler two by six system. While Elkins has a pair of *Quasi-Clausal Sentences*, viz. the *Simple* and the *Merged Sentence*, Hartung considers the former to be extra-systemic (as in the majority of systems constructed) and does not posit the latter. Richard Elkins also has two *Quasi-Quotational Sentences* that are not posited by Hartung. Presumably, structures similar to what Elkins terms the *Mental Indirect Quote* and the *Mistaken Impression Quote* are considered by Hartung to be simply subtypes of the *Indirect Quote* (Sec. 2.6.2). The Ata Manobo equivalent of Elkins' *Inference Sentence* (in his *Implication* column) is presumably also subsumed by Hartung under *Indirect Quote*.[41] Elkins also posits a *Question-Answer Sentence* which apparently has no readily identifiable equivalent in Ata Manobo.

The Ata Manobo sentence system distinguishes its *Loose* versus *Tight* sentences on the vertical parameter in a more consistent way than does Western Bukidnon Manobo. Five of the *Loose* sentences employ no medial conjunction or particle of any kind while the *Alternation Sentence* (Sec. 2.2.3) has an optional medial conjunction. By contrast all the *Tight* sentences have obligatory medial *Link* or *Marker*. This systemic opposition between juxtaposed versus conjunctive sentences is basic to the whole system in Ata Manobo. Thus, while in Western Bukidnon Manobo both *Direct* and *Indirect Quotes* have a medial 'that' sign of quote, only the latter has such an element in Ata Manobo. Again, while both *Conditional* and *Concessive Margin* are brought into the nucleus as a *Contingent Sentence* (2.4.5) in Ata Manobo by the usual device of introduction of a cross-referencing and counterbalancing paricle, the *Conditional Margin* is also brought into the nucleus by the deletion of the *Relator* 'if' in what Hartung terms a *Conditional Sentence* (2.4.5). The *Contingent Sentence* with its counterbalancing particle is a *Tight* sentence and is either a general condition or concessive in import. The *Conditional Sentence*, which is a juxtaposed structure, is a *Loose* sentence and may be either a general condition or a contrary to fact condition. Similarly, while *Cause* or *Purpose Margins* may be incorporated into the nucleus by adding a counterbalancing particle--and thus deriving an *Explanatory Sentence* (2.4.4); these same margins may be incorporated by the deletion of the *Relator*--and thus deriving a *Telic Sentence* (2.4.4). The former is a *Tight* sentence; the latter is a *Loose* sentence. Two varieties of *Time Sentences* likewise occur: a *Temporal Sentence* (2.4.3) in which particles indicate temporal sequence; and a

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[41] This need not be inconsistency of analytical criteria from language to language. The structures which Elkins posits as constituting separate sentence types may as a matter of fact be more distinct in Western Bukidnon Manobo than in Ata Manobo.

Simultaneous Sentence (2.4.3) in which gerundatives (clause with pog- prefixed verbs) or clauses with irrealis (dependent) verbs occur. Again, the contrast is between Tight (or conjunctive) sentences and Loose (or juxtaposed) sentences.

The Ata Manobo sentence system consists therefore of six columns each of which contains a pair of sentences. The first two columns, Concatenation and Opposition, and the last column, Quotation contain sentence types that are basic to the system. The center columns, Time, Reason, and Condition are derived by incorporation of exponents of margins into the nuclei. In the Tight sentences this is accomplished by the introduction of Links and Markers; in the Loose sentences this is accomplished by the deletion of the Relators from Relator-Axis Sentences.

Diagram 9 presents the Ata Manobo sentence system.

	CONCATENATION	OPPOSITION	TIME	REASON	CONDITION	QUOTATION
A	Paraphrase Ø	Alternation Ø ko 'or' woy 'or'	Simultaneous pog-Cl Ø pog-Cl IrrCl Ø IrrCl	Telic (Cause & Purpose) Ø	Conditional (includes Gen. & Contrary to Fact) Ø	Direct Quote QF_1 Ø Quote
B	Coordinate woy 'and' no 'and/ and then'	Antithetical di 'but' dokkad di 'instead' pidu 'but'	Temporal woy...ko before... when'	Explanatory (Cause & Purpose) {ian / sikan / omuna-an}...{su / to / oyow} 'reason'...'because'	Contingent (includes Gen. Cond. & Concessive) ko... 'if' {ian 'why' / songo 'even so' / su 'then'}	Indirect Quote QF_2 {to / no / ko} Quote Cl/S

A = Loose (often juxtaposed)
B = Tight (linked/linked-and-balanced)

ATA MANOBO SENTENCE SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 9

3.3 Agta

By contrast, the sentence types of Agta constitute a three-tiered system. Roy Mayfield posits a three by six system. I have suggested that his three *Conditional Sentences* could be subtracted from the system but since they subtract as a complete column this leaves an intact three by five system. The sentence types seem to come in three's. Thus, not only do *Direct* (2.6.1) and *Indirect Quote Sentences* (2.6.2) occur but also an *Indirect Question Sentence* (2.6.4). The juxtaposed sentences (which he calls *Apposition*) are likewise three if the *Merged Sentence* (2.5) which like the juxtaposed has no medial conjunction, be counted with them. Likewise, the *Implication Sentences* share certain common features: (1) similarity of medial markers: *awa te* 'so'; *awa/bakawa* 'since, seeing that'; *baka* 'since'; (2) resemblance to sentences containing a *Circumstantial Margin*--even though I have considered the *Inferential Sentence* (2.3.4) to be derived from sequence of sentences in the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. Similarly, the *Opposition Sentences* (*Antithetical*, (2.2.2), *Inversion* (2.2.2.1) and *Alternative* (2.2.3)) have common features of contrast and balance. This leaves *Coordinate* (2.2.1), *Sequence* (2.3.1), and *Concomitant Sentences* (2.4.3) which respectively encode (a) that which is chronologically noncommittal, (b) a chronological sequence; and (c) chronological simultaneity.

In every column the sentence types assigned to the center tier, the *Tight* types, show more specialization and restriction of structure than those assigned to the other two tiers, while the *Balanced* sentences are characterized by a feature of alternation or weighing that is not found in the *Loose* sentences. Thus, while in the *Antithetical* and *Inversion Sentences* antonyms and negative-positive oppositions are found and while much the same items are found in the *Alternative Sentence*, the added feature of alternation (weighing or choice) distinguishes the latter. This same feature is found in the *Indirect Question* where two alternatives are implied as well as the quotation feature that characterizes the whole column. In the *Implication* column, the *Loose* sentence incorporates a *Circumstantial Margin* into first *Base*; *Tight* sentence incorporates a *Circumstantial Margin* as second *Base* with an additional requirement that the first *Base* be interrogative, negative, or express doubt. The *Balanced* sentence is similar to the two above. A case could be made out that its second *Base* is an incorporated *Circumstantial Margin* with an overt or covert negative. But the second *Base* is considerably modified from the form of a routine *Circumstantial Margin*;in fact its commonest form is that of a rhetorical question. In effect, the second *Base* is a counterbalancing consideration, as in 'O, why do I still fuss over wine, after all do I need that?' In Mayfield's *Addition* column, where a *Loose* sentence (*Coordinate*) occurs and a *Tight* sentence (*Sequence*),

3.4 Itneg

Itneg is likewise a three by five sentence system. Three of the columns of sentence types posited by Janice Walton are similar to those posited for Agta by Roy Mayfield. Thus, Itneg has also a *Quotation* column of sentence types--although where Agta has an *Indirect Question Sentence* Itneg has an *Equational Quotation Sentence* (2.6.5) in the *Balanced* tier: 'What he said was "I won't come".' The parts of the sentence are blocked out and set against each other in a way not characteristic of the other two *Quotation Sentences*. Itneg has an *Opposition* column that has sentence types in one-to-one correspondence with those found in Agta. Both languages have an *Implication* column. In Agta, this column is based largely on the incorporation of *Circumstantial Margins* into sentence nuclei. In Itneg, however, the three sentence types in this column incorporate *Conditional* and *Concessive Margins*. Of the three *Implication Sentences*, the *Supposition Sentence* (2.6.6), in which a short formula-like word *sapay* 'it's as if' precedes a *Base* which is understood as the opposite of its stated affirmative or negative value, is clearly the sentence that belongs in the *Tight* category: 'It's as if this girl is from Mainit [but she isn't].' An *Exclusive Sentence* (2.4.5.2) ('we have no father if not you') with negative *Base* plus negative *Base* occurs; and a *Result Sentence* (2.4.5) which consists of two juxtaposed exponents of margins: 'Even if we have no lunch, if we go now', i.e. 'Even if we have no lunch, [it's still all right] if we go now.' In the latter sentence type the parts of the sentence are blocked out and set against each other much as if the speaker were saying: 'On the one hand we have no lunch; on the other hand we can go anyway.' This sentence type is therefore assigned to the *Balanced* category.

In respect to the first two columns Agta and Itneg are more divergent. Both languages have *Coordinate* (2.2.1), *Merged* (2.5), *Paraphrase* (2.3.2) and *Sequence Sentences* (2.3.1) but of these only the *Merged Sentences* of the two languages occur in corresponding cells in the two systems.[43] The *Coordinate Sentence* is classified as a *Loose* sentence in both systems but while the Agta *Coordinate Sentence* occurs in the same column (*Addition*) with the *Sequence* and *Concomitant Sentences*, the Itneg *Coordinate Sentence* occurs in the same column (*Concatenation*) with the *Merged* and *Paraphrase*. In Agta, as we have seen, the *Coordinate Sentence* seems to fit plausibly in the cell and column where it the *Concomitant Sentence* is again a *tertium quid*. Alternatives need not be mutually exclusive (cf. 2.3.3--especially re. the Inibaloi *Alternation Sentence*) and here in the Agta *Concomitant Sentence* both alternatives may be considered to occur.[42] In the *Apposition* column (juxtaposed sentences) Mayfield has the *Merged Sentence* (2.5) in the *Balanced* tier and the *Paraphrase Sentence* (2.3.2) in the *Tight* tier. It would seem that the *Merged Sentence* is the most restricted and circumscribed sentence type of its column; it probably should be the *Tight Sentence*. The *Paraphrase Sentence* or *Correlation Sentence* (2.3.4) might be a better candidate for filling the cell in the *Balanced* tier of the *Apposition* column. The *Correlation Sentence* is perhaps the better choice. It is not unlike the *Inferential Sentence* (*Balanced* sentence of the *Implication* column)--in that I consider both to be derived from DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS by incorporating a sentence which expounds REMARK tagmeme of the dialogue periphery into the nucleus of a contiguous sentence. In giving Mayfield's diagram of sentence structure (Diagram 10) I make these changes in his first column.

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[43] i.e. according to my rearrangement of Mayfield's column 1. According to his original placing of the *Merged Sentence* it did not occupy a cell corresponding to that occupied by the *Merged Sentence* of Itneg.

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[42] Consider, e.g. the Agta *Concomitant Sentence*: '(I swam underwater at the deep place and) I lost my breath at-the-same-time my ears hurt.' We can imagine an *Alternative Sentence*: 'Whenever I swim underwater at the deep place I lose my breath or my ears hurt.' The *Concomitant Sentence* just given tells us that on a particular occasion the man both lost his breath and his ears hurt.

	APPOSITION	ADDITION	OPPOSITION	IMPLICATION	QUOTATION
LOOSE	Paraphrase Ø = TEXT EXPO >S	Coordinate ...ā/ottuhu... 'and' (Chronologically non-committal)	Antithetical ...ammi... 'but'	Development ...awā te... 'so' [Cir M >Nuc] [ ]	Direct [Vbs of Speech] ta 'that' [ ] <kun>
TIGHT	Merged ←NP→	Sequence ...(a/te) kapye... 'then' $\begin{bmatrix}BU_1 BU_n\\ ST_1 ST_n\end{bmatrix}$ >S (Chronological Sequence)	Inversion (-) te (+) 'because/but'	Dubitative awā/bakawā 'since, seeing that' [interr neg doubt disbelief] [CirM >Nuc]	Indirect [Vbs non-sp] ta 'that' [ ]
BALANCED	Correlative Ø =(REM) PROP >S	Concomitant ...yāga... 'at the same time' (Simultaneity)	Alternation ...o... 'or'	Inferential baka 'since' [ ] [neg (neg)] [PROP REM (REM)] >S	Ind. Question [see hear ask try know] am 'if' [ ]

AGTA SENTENCE SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 10

is found; this leaves *Paraphrase*, *Merged*, and *Correlative* to go in the remaining column, viz. the first. In Itneg there are really two varieties of *Sequence Sentence*, i.e. the *Sequence Sentence* and the *Time Sentence*. There is furthermore, in Itneg a *Circumstance-Result Sentence* (2.4.4) (not three such sentences as in Agta) which must fit in somewhere. These are the pieces. Janice Walton assembles *Sequence*, *Time*, and *Circumstance-Result* into one column which she labels *Contingent*. She, then assembles *Coordinate*, *Merged*, and *Paraphrase Sentences* into another column which she labels *Concatenation*. Both columns seem plausible, granted the sentence types that are posited. The *Contingent* column reports events the second of which is post hoc and (sometimes) propter hoc. The rationale of the *Concatenation* column is that all three sentence types involve juxtaposition either with optional weak *Links* (the *Coordinate Sentence*), with no *Link* (the *Paraphrase Sentence*), or with merger of juxtaposed clauses (*Merged Sentence*). Of the three, the *Paraphrase Sentence* seems the one most likely to be a *Balanced* sentence.

This leaves us with the Agta *Paraphrase Sentence* as a *Loose* sentence but with the Itneg *Paraphrase Sentence* as a *Balanced* sentence. It likewise leaves us with the Agta *Sequence Sentence* as a *Tight* sentence and the Itneg *Sequence Sentence* as a *Loose* sentence. The reason for these apparent inconsistencies is that *Loose*, *Tight*, and *Balanced* are comparative terms applicable primarily within a given column for a given language and only secondarily across columns and across languages. In the Agta *Apposition* column the *Correlative Sentence* displays the most structural balance while in the Itneg *Concatenation* column (where such a sentence as the *Correlative* does not occur) the *Paraphrase Sentence* displays the most balance. Again, in the Agta *Addition* column we find the *Coordinate Sentence* which is certainly a looser structure than the *Sequence Sentence* of that language. On the other hand in the Itneg *Contingent* column--where no *Coordinate Sentence* occurs but where two contrasting sorts of sequence sentence, the *Sequence* and *Time Sentence*, occur--the *Sequence Sentence* is a looser structure than the more restricted *Time Sentence*.

In brief, the placement of a sentence type within a system of sentence types is dependent on distinctive features that depend partially on comparison with other sentence types. Thus, although a *Coordinate Sentence* is a looser structure than either a *Sequence* or *Antithetical Sentence*, all three will fall into the same tier whenever they are the loosest structures in their respective columns. The reason for this seems to be that the progression across the horizontal parameter of sentence systems of the sort being described also involves some sort of increasingly closer union of bases.

Diagram 11 of the Itneg sentence system is adapted from Janice Walton; I have permuted the order of the last two columns of her chart. For the sake of comparison with Agta, I have not permuted any further columns of the chart. It might be well, however, to permute the Contingent and Opposition columns of the chart. The progression, Concatenation, Opposition, Contingency, Implication, Quotation, seems to show better movement along a parameter than the order of columns now on the chart.

	CONCATENATION	CONTINGENT	OPPOSITION	IMPLICATION	QUOTATION
LOOSE	Coordinate + ket aket ken 'and'	Sequence +(± si ± ket) 'and then' [BU_1 BU_n / ST_1 ST_n] >S	Antithetical ...ngem... ...(a) nem... 'but'	Exclusive [-] [- CondM> Nuc]	Direct [Vb of Speech] Ø [ ]
TIGHT	Merged ± nga	Time (si ket) 'and then' ST_1 ST_n>S	Inversion [beken / (-)] ngem / nem 'but' [+]	Supposition sapay 'it's as if' [Cond M>Nuc]	Indirect [Vbs of Speech 'think, hear, discover'] nga / no 'that' [ ]
BALANCED	Paraphrase Ø TEXT EXPO>S	Circum-result Ø [Cir M>Nuc] [ ]	Alternation ...wenno... 'or'	Result [Conc M>Nuc] [Cond M>Nuc]	Equational Q. [noun phrase] nga 'that' [ ]

ITNEG SENTENCE SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 11

3.5 Koronadal Bilaan

Koronadal Bilaan illustrates a three by five system with one lacuna. The lacuna occurs in the last column, Quotation, where Direct (2.6.1) and Indirect Quote (2.6.2) occur but no third sentence of this type. Norman Abrams includes the Simple Sentence (2.1) in the system of Koronadal Bilaan sentence types and thus obtains a Single-Topic column (cf. Quasi-clausal in Western Bukidnon Manobo) which includes Simple, Merged (2.5) and Equational Sentences (2.7). As in Itneg, so in Koronadal Bilaan two sorts of Sequence Sentences (2.3.1) are combined with a Result Sentence (2.3.3) in a Contingency column. This includes (1) Series Sentence in which event one has a prior beginning but whose activity or result extends over the time during which event two takes place, as in 'we left there that Saturday, we rode the jeep to Dadiangas'; (2) a Sequence Sentence in which one event simply precedes the other as in 'Now Mother went in the morning, then Father followed in the afternoon'; and (3) Result Sentence in which one event is logically or teleologically prior, as in 'The reason they didn't give salt was because I asked in a bad manner'. Coordinate Sentence (2.2.1) --which has no place in either of the previous columns finds a place along with Antithetical (2.2.2) and Alternation Sentences (2.2.3) in a Concatenation column. In this column Coordinate is clearly the Loose sentence; Antithetical, the Tight ; and Alternative, the Balanced. An Implication column is posited in which two of the sentences are clearly derived by incorporation of Conditional and Concessive Margins. The Balanced sentence type in this column resembles a bidirectional implication: 'However much he loves me, that's how much I'll love him.

Diagram 12 reproduces without any alteration Abram's scheme of Bilaan sentences. Were I to suggest any change I might, as with Itneg, suggest that the columns Contingency and Concatenation be permuted.

	SINGLE TOPIC	CONTINGENCY	CONCATENATION	IMPLICATION	QUOTATION
LOOSE	Simple Single Predication	Series ...,... Sequential; Simultaneous	Coordinate ...na... 'and'	Conditional ku...na... 'if'...'then'	Direct Quote man, "..." '(he) said'
TIGHT	Merged Shared Topic	Sequence na...klo... 'now...then'	Antithetical ...gabay... 'but' ...bu...'but'	Concessive balù...gabay 'Although... anyway'	Indirect Quote gadè ku '(he) knows that'
BALANCED	Equational Cross-referenced Object	Result du...duenan 'because... that is why'	Alternation ...ku demen... 'or'	Correlative nè...yé... 'as...so also'	

KORONADAL BILAAN

SENTENCE SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 12

3.6 Bontoc

For Bontoc a system in three parameters in posited. One parameter is the degree of union between the *Bases*, i.e. the *Loose-Tight* contrast already illustrated. Another parameter is *the kind of* union, i.e. a parameter with such values as *Concatenation*, *Implication*, *Quotation*, and (in a subsystem) *Opposition* and *Quasi-clausal* (merged). A third parameter is posited with three values: *Dominant*, *Distinctive* and *Diffuse* in the main system and with two value *Dominant* and *Diffuse* in the subsystem. *Dominant* sentence types most well exemplify whatever category of parameter two is relevant to them. *Distinctive* sentence types exemplify well their category of parameter two but not as well as the *Dominant* sentence types. *Diffuse* sentences exemplify less well their category of parameter two and often prove for this reason the most difficult to classify. This system in effect, takes three systems of two by three size and sets them one on top of the other--and finds certain similarities in the process. Similarly, the subsystem is two by two by two by virtue of superimposing two systems of two by two size.

The best justification of such a system in three parameters is that it enables us to posit a parameter with such values as *Concatenation*, *Implication*, *Opposition*, *Quotation*, and *Quasi-clausal*, i.e. a parameter with values of the sort already found in other languages. Otherwise, we have a two by thirteen system with the *Loose-Tight* parameter and a further parameter with thirteen overly particularized values of a sort not encountered elsewhere. If, in order to avoid this we posit subsystems, then we find that if we give labels to our subsystems we have values of the sort usually posited in the horizontal parameter of other less complicated systems. On noticing that the subsystems are either two by three or two by two, one is likely to attempt to superimpose systems of similar shape. Precisely in this way Lawrence Reid and I discovered features of common patterns which led to the positing of a third parameter.

Diagram 13 reproduces Reid's scheme of Bontoc sentences. There is a three by three by two subsystem and a two by two subsystem. In the first subsystem the most diagnostic cells are 1, 7, and 13. Cell 1, the *Coordinate Sentence* (2.2.1) is at the intersection of *Loose*, *Concatenation*, and *Dominant*. Cell 3, the *Sequence Sentence* (2.3.1) is at the intersection of *Loose*, *Concatenation*, and *Distinctive*; this sentence type compromises the feature of concatenation by mixing with it chronological sequence. Cell 5, the *Paraphrase Sentence* (2.3.2) is at the intersection of *Loose*, *Concatenation* and *Diffuse*; this sentence type is even less characteristically a *Concatenation* sentence. In turn, Cells 2, 4, and 6 are at the intersection of

Tight and *Concatenation* with the values *Dominant*, *Distinctive*, and *Diffuse* of the third parameter. In spite of diversities these six sentences types seem to belong together and none of them would seem to fit well elsewhere. And, of these sentence types, the *Concatenation Sentence* in Cell 1 most well exemplifies the *Concatenation* value of the second parameter.

Similarly at Cell 7, the intersection of *Loose*, *Implication* and *Dominant*, the *Chance Condition Sentence* (2.4.5) is most characteristic of the *Implication Sentences*.[44] No *Implication* sentence type as such is purely implicational in that such a string would be interpreted as *Conditional Margin* plus nucleus. The *Chance Condition Sentence* is a general condition with the uncertainty indicated in the *mo* 'if' somewhat emphasized and heightened by a following particle, as in 'If by chance we do not eat there, we will come here'. In Cell 9, at the intersection of *Loose*, *Implication*, and *Distinctive*, occurs the *Reason Sentence* (2.4.4). Here implication is compromised by mixture with explanation; as in 'If your leg is sore it's because you ran yesterday'. In Cell 11, at the intersection of *Loose*, *Implication*, and *Diffuse*, occurs the *Hortatory Sentence*. Here implication is further compromised by mixture with exhortation, as in 'If you want to join the Datal group, you should join in doing what is done in the men's group house.' Cells 8, 10, and 12 are at the intersection of *Tight* and *Implication* with the values *Dominant*, *Distinctive*, and *Diffuse* of the third parameter. But Cell 7 probably remains the most characteristic of these six sentence types.

Cell 13, the *Direct Quote Sentence* (2.6.1) which lies at the intersection of *Loose*, *Quotation*, and *Dominant*, is without doubt the *Quotation Sentence* par excellence. Cell 15, the *Indirect Quote Sentence* (2.6.2), which lies at the intersection of *Loose*, *Quotation*, and *Distinctive* compromises quotation by mixing it with other concerns--so that it is possible e.g. in an *Indirect Quote* to pass an evaluation on the veracity, good intentions, or ability of the person whose speech is reported.[45] Finally Cell 17, the *Referential Quote* (2.6.6) is really a citation formula: 'It's like what you refer to there as *bomoda*.' Cells 14, 16, and 18 are *Tight* sentences.

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[44] The body of Reid's paper has the *Reason Sentence* in Cell 7 rather than the *Chance Condition Sentence*. His diagram of the sentence system and the key to it indicate, however, that Cell 7 should be occupied by the *Chance Condition Sentence*--which seems the more plausible.

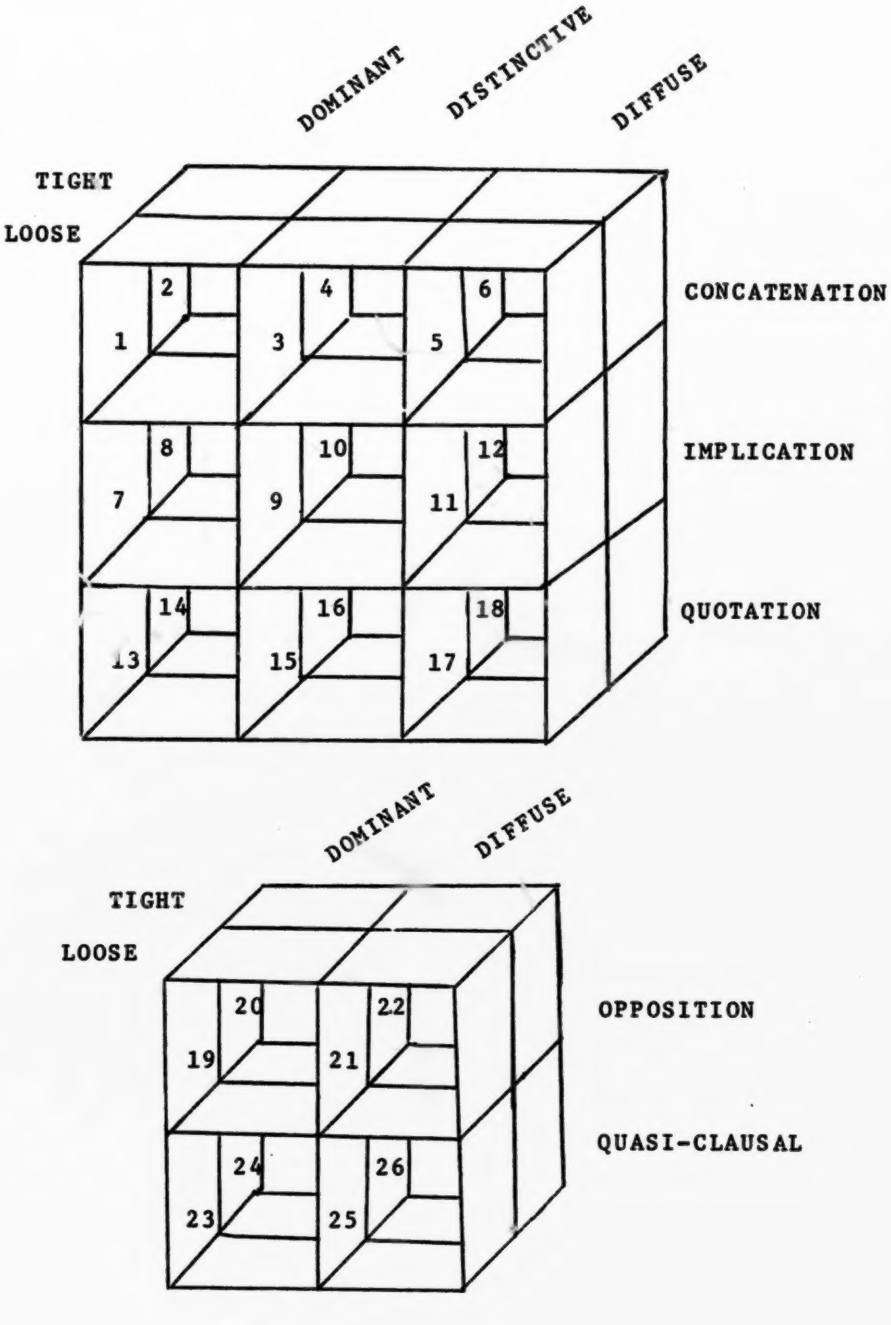
[45] Cf. The English 'He *said* he would come' [but who knows if he will?].

I will not go into the structure of the second subsystem any further than to note that Cell 19, the Antithetical Sentence (2.2.2) at the intersection of Loose, Opposition, and Dominant is clearly the Opposition Sentence par excellence.

Diagram 13 of the Bontoc sentence system and the accompanying key, are both from Reid.

Key to numbers in cells of Diagram 13:

1. Coordinate
2. Circumstance-Result
3. Sequence
4. Extent
5. Paraphrase
6. Recurrent-Action
7. Chance Condition
8. Exclusive Condition
9. Reason
10. Concessive
11. Hortatory
12. Subjunctive
13. Direct
14. Equational
15. Indirect
16. Indirect Question
17. Referential Quote
18. Thought Quote
19. Antithetical
20. Diverse
21. Alternation
22. Rhetorical Question
23. Purposive
24. Logical Goal
25. Sensate
26. Speech


DOMINANT
DISTINCTIVE
DIFFUSE
TIGHT
LOOSE
CONCATENATION
IMPLICATION
QUOTATION
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
DOMINANT
DIFFUSE
TIGHT
LOOSE
OPPOSITION
QUASI-CLAUSAL
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26

BONTOC SENTENCE SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 13

3.7 Balangao

The Balangao sentence system is similar to the Bontoc but in some ways more symmetrical and complete. It is a large system of two by three by four dimensions with only four Quasi-clausal (Merged) Sentences constituting a separate subsystem. The values of the second parameter in this enlarged system are: Concatenation, Opposition, Implication, and Quotational. The Coordinate Sentence (2.2.1), Antithetical Sentence (2.2.2), Exclusive Condition Sentence (2.4.5) ('There's no one else to go if not you'), and Direct Quote Sentence (2.6.1) are most characteristic of the four values of parameter two; they lie at the intersection of values of this parameter with Loose (of parameter 1) and Dominant (of parameter 3).

Diagram 14, the Balangao sentence system, is adapted from Joanne Shetler. This diagram and diagram 13 form an interesting comparison in that both reflect attempts to give two dimensional representation to systems in three parameters. Of the two diagrams, while Reid's Bontoc Sentence System is the more graphic, its complexity leads him to give the names of sentence types in an accompanying key, rather than on the diagram itself. Shetler's Balangao Sentence System by collapsing the first and second parameters into an outline at the left hand margin avoids some complexity and leaves room for adding the names of the sentence types to the diagram proper.

	DOMINANT	DISTINCTIVE	DIFFUSE
CONCATENATION			
LOOSE	Coordinate	Sequence	Paraphrase
TIGHT	Recurrent Action	Extent	Recapitulation
OPPOSITION			
LOOSE	Antithetical	Alternation	Subjunctive
TIGHT	Inversion	Diverse	Rhetorical Question
IMPLICATION			
LOOSE	Exclusive Condition	Result 1	Hortatory
TIGHT	Concessive	Result 2	Reason
QUOTATIONAL			
LOOSE	Direct Quote	Indirect Quote	Referential Quote
TIGHT	Equational Quote	Indirect Question	Thought Quote

QUASI-CLAUSAL

Merged 1	Merged 3
Merged 2	Merged 4

BALANGAO SENTENCE SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 14

3.8 Tausug: obtaining a system

The system at present posited for the sentence types of Tausug has been developed through two earlier stages. A study of the development of this system is instructive.

Seymour and Lois Ashley's first approximation to a system for Tausug sentence types is shown in Diagram 15. Notice that the system as first suggested is clearly off balance in two regards: (a) Cells 7, 8, and 14 have two types each; (b) Cells 10 and 18 are empty.

For these reasons an attempt was made to revise the system. It was noticed that there were probably not just two but four types of Quotation Sentences (2.6), which clearly seemed to constitute a two by two system, although otherwise Tausug sentences seemed to group into three's. Therefore, as a first step in revising the system the Quotation Sentences were excised on the supposition that they constitute a subsystem. Next an attempt was made to get rid of the two sentences each in Cells 7, 8, and 14 of the system as first posited. This was done for Cells 7 and 8 by positing not one but two Opposition columns in the revised diagram (Diagram 16). This still left, however, a lacuna in Cell 10 of the revised diagram. The two sentence types in Cell 14 of the former diagram were redistributed into Cells 16 and 17 of the new diagram while former Cell 15 became 18; this gave a new Contingency column. This, in turn, however, left the Juxtaposed Sentence isolated. In that this sentence type is really a time (simultaneous) sentence, it could now be moved into the lacuna at number 10 of the former diagram. A new Temporal order of sentences was thus posited as Cells 13, 14, and 15 of the new diagram. This was one clear gain in the new arrangement. The three sentence types seemed to belong together in that both the Juxtaposed and the Simultaneous Sentence are characterized by simultaneity, while the Repetitive Sentence encodes a kind of rapid alternation between two repeated activities --which is almost a simultaneity of sorts: 'First I sneeze and then my nose runs' or 'I alternately sneeze and run at the nose'.

The revised system had still several difficulties. (1) There was still one empty cell--which was, however, not a fatal flaw in that some systems have lacunae. (2) More serious was the possibility that Cause and Purpose (in the same Cell in the original scheme) were suspect of being the same sentence type. (3) Equally serious was the possibility that Reproach and Disparate Sentences (likewise in the same cell in the original scheme) were also the same sentence type. Combination of these pairs into single types would create anew two lacunae and again throw the shole system off balance--since a three by six system with three lacunae, i.e. with 50% of its columns defective, is not convincing.

Diagram 17 shows the system finally posited for Tausug.[46] The three lacunae are eliminated by reducing from a three by six to a three by five system. The two *Opposition* columns posited tentatively in the second approximation are recombined --except that the *Refutation Sentence* is taken out of this part of the chart entirely. Combined *Reproach* and *Disparate* (as *Reproach Sentence*) now fills Cell 11 of this new system. *Refutation* is reassigned to the column in which the new combined *Cause-Purpose Sentence* (now called *Reason Sentence*) and *Comparative Sentence* are found. The whole column is now not implausibly called *Reasoning*.

In this system as finally settled on, the *Centering* column (*Simple*, *Merged*, *Equational*) persists from the first approximation as does likewise the second column, the *Concatenated*. The *Temporal* column, which emerged in the second approximation also survives in the present scheme. The *Opposition* and *Reasoning* columns accomodate their sentence types by virtue of the combining of suspect sentence types.

In some respects the most unusual thing in the present scheme is the *Concatenated* column which includes *Coordinate*, *Sequence*, and *Alternation Sentence*. The latter more typically patterns with the *Antithetical Sentence*--although it is not unusual to have *Coordinate*, *Antithetical*, and *Alternation* in the same column. The *Opposition* column, however, is plausibly filled with the three types *assigned to it. While one might* expect that the *Sequence Sentence* would pattern with the *Temporal Sentences*, the latter plausibly constitute a column of their own where some element of simultaneity seems to characterize the order. It would appear, then, that *Coordinate*, *Sequence*, and *Alternative Sentences* belong together as the next order of complexity following the *Centering* sentences and before the latter three columns which reflect more specialized ways of joining bases.

The tiers as now constituted are, furthermore, internally self-consistent. In the top tier, the *Loose* sentence types, either *Links* (4, 10), *Markers* (13) or absence of any such element (1, 7) is found. In the center tier, aside from the *Merged Sentence* (where a syntactically ambivalent noun phrase cements the construction), *Links* occur (5) as well as *Relators* of *Relator-Axis Sentences* that have been drawn into the nucleus (8, 11, 14). In the bottom tier no such *Relators* occur; aside from the *Alternation Sentence* where a *Link* expounded by *atawa* 'or' is found, the sentence types have a repeated particle (3), repeated auxiliary verb (9, 12) or repeated stem (15).

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[46] In this diagram functional morphemes relevant to the various sentence types are indicated. Sign # after a functional morpheme indicates that that morpheme attracts the enclitic pronoun.

	CENTERING	CONCATENATED	OPPOSITION	TEMPORAL	CONTINGENT	QUOTATION
LOOSE	Simple 1	Coordinate 4	Antithetical Refutation 7	10	Juxtaposed 13	Direct 16
TIGHT	Merged 2	Sequence 5	Disparate Reproach 8	Simultaneous 11	Causal Purpose 14	Indirect 17
BALANCED	Equational 3	Alternation 6	Frustrative 9	Repetitive 12	Comparative 15	18

ORIGINAL TAUSUG SENTENCE SYSTEM

DIAGRAM 15

	CENTERING	CONCATENATED	OPPOSITION$_1$	OPPOSITION$_2$	TEMPORAL	CONTINGENT
LOOSE	Simple 1	Coordinate 4	Antithetical 7	10	Juxtaposed 13	Causal 16
TIGHT	Merged 2	Sequence 5	Reproach 8	Refutation 11	Simultaneous 14	Purpose 17
BALANCED	Equational 3	Alternation 6	Disparate 9	Frustrative 12	Repetitive 15	Comparative 18

FIRST RESTATEMENT OF TAUSUG SENTENCE SYSTEM
(minus the Quotation Sentences)

DIAGRAM 16

	CENTERING	CONCATENATED	TEMPORAL	OPPOSITION	REASONING
LOOSE	Simple 1	Coordinate ..iban.. 'and' 4	Juxtaposed ..∅.. 7	Antithetical ..<sa'>.. 'but' 10	Refutation sin.. 'whereas' 13
TIGHT	Merged ..NP.. 2	Sequence ..ampa #.. 'and then' ..<manjari>.. 'came to be' 5	Simultaneous ..baba #.. ..sa'bu #.. 'while' 8	Reproach sakawkat #.. 'just because' malayngkan.. 'even though' <sa'> 11	Reason sabab # hangkan # 'the reason' ..sabab.. ..bat.. 'because' ..supaya#.. ..bat #.. 'in order that' 14
BALANCED	Equational amu..amu.. 'that is.. that is..' 3	Alternation ..atawa.. 'or' 6	Repetitive ubus #.. ubus# 'finish.. finish' 9	Frustrative iyampa #.. iyampa # 'then..then' 12	Comparative diminished stem ..stem 15

SECOND RESTATEMENT OF TAUSUG SENTENCE SYSTEM
(minus the Quotation Sentences)

DIAGRAM 17

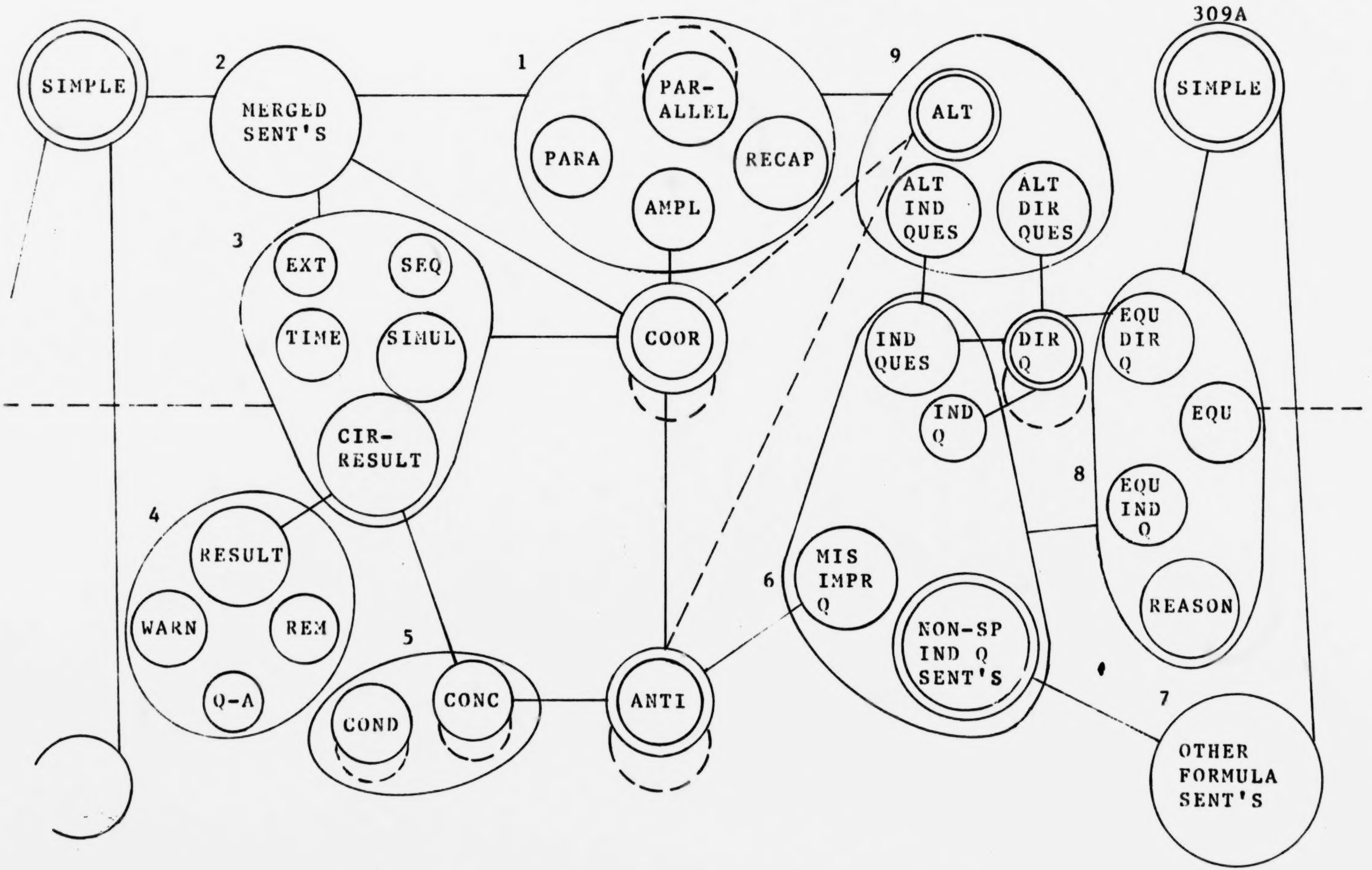
4 The Sentence Neighborhood -- a universal scheme

The sentence systems which are presented in the previous section are specific to given languages. As we have seen, certain sentence types, e.g. the *Coordinate*, *Antithetical*, and *Alternation* keep varied company in grouping with other sentence types to form columns and rows of specific systems. Furthermore, we have also seen that certain putative logical categories, e.g. *simultaneity*, are really logico-linguistic categories *defined and shaped* by the sentence types that encode them. Thus a *Simultaneous Sentence* in Inibaloi (2.4.3.6) includes actions or states that the speaker wants to conceptualize as simultaneous whether they be (a) parallel and coterminous actions; (b) one action or state continuing during the occurrence of another somewhere in that time span--if even right at its end; or (c) two actions actually in sequence but which the speaker wants to stress as occurring approximately within the same time horizon. An Agta *Concomitant Sentence* (= *Simultaneous*) defines *simultaneity* more narrowly and possibly confines it to sense (a) above. Thus, particular sentence systems in actual languages comprise specific emic sentence types not in easy one-to-one correspondence with logical categories. We have further seen that formal categories such as juxtaposition (i.e. nul conjunction), merged sentences (nul conjunction with syntactically ambivalent pronoun or noun phrase), formula sentence (use of a lexically and grammatically restricted base), equation (use of a sentence-level equator) do not correlate neatly with any particular semantic or logical categories yet tend to be employed with some categories more than others. We likewise find that derivational classification of sentence types--e.g. whether they are derived from sequences of sentences within paragraphs or by incorporation of sentence margins--likewise does not correlate neatly with semantic categories. Finally, we have found certain persistent trouble spots where etic sentence types (wholly aside from inconsistencies of analysis) group into emic sentence types in differing ways from language to language. Thus, there is a three-way tangle between the *Antithetical Sentence* ('I went but she stayed home'), the *Concessive Sentence* ('Although I went nevertheless she stayed home') and the *Mistaken Impression Sentence* ('I thought she went [but she didn't]'). Whether we have one, two, or three emic sentence types depends on what structural distinctions (differing conjunctions; possible permutations, deletions, and transforms; or lexical restrictions) a given language imposes. Thus, to summarize, particular languages: (a) group the same or similar sentence types into differing configurations (systems); (b) define logical categories somewhat for their own purposes;

(c) match formal categories (use of conjunction, juxtaposition, merging, use of formula, equation) with varying logical and semantic categories; (d) match in similarly inconsistent fashion derivational categories with logical and semantic categories; and (e) variously group etic sentence types into emic sentence types.

Granted the above features of particularity in sentence systems, the fact still remains that considerable may be said about universal non-language-specific features of the sentence. In fact a universal scheme of sentence types can be posited provided that (1) we abandon a system with parameters for a neighborhood in which similar sentence types are contiguous or relatively near and dissimilar sentence types are non-contiguous or relatively distant; (2) we include in the system etic instead of emic sentence types; and (3) we let neither entirely logical and semantic considerations nor entirely formal and derivational ones dictate the shape of the scheme. Such a scheme is not in fact hard to devise if one begins by attempting to draw a graph on which sentence types that have caused analytic difficulty because of their similarity are represented as contiguous. One may then broaden this consideration to include showing some connection between sentence types that encode similar lexical stuff (e.g. common use of such parallel features as positive-negative, and antonyms) or which frequently line up within the same columns in representations of particular sentence systems.

Such a scheme is given in Diagram 18 "The Sentence Level as a Neighborhood". This scheme should have not only taxonomic but heuristic value as well. Its cataloging and arranging of possible structures on the sentence level can serve to guide beginning analysis in languages whose sentence systems have not been explored. Furthermore, as a chart of etic sentence types which are suspect of being the same emic type it can alert the analyst to possible areas of difficulty. Finally, it may have some value in guiding the grouping of emic types into systems in given languages.


309A
SIMPLE
2
MERGED SENT'S
1
PARA
PAR-ALLEL
AMPL
RECAP
9
ALT
ALT IND QUES
ALT DIR QUES
SIMPLE
3
EXT
SEQ
TIME
SIMUL
CIR-RESULT
COOR
IND QUES
DIR Q
IND Q
EQU DIR Q
EQU
8
EQU IND Q
REASON
4
RESULT
WARN
REM
Q-A
5
COND
CONC
ANTI
6
MIS IMPR Q
NON-SP IND Q SENT'S
7
OTHER FORMULA SENT'S

THE SENTENCE LEVEL AS A NEIGHBORHOOD

DIAGRAM 18

Key to abbreviations of Diagram 18.

PARA	Paraphrase
RECAP	Recapitulation
AMPL	Amplification
EXT	Extent
SEQ	Sequence
SIMUL	Simultaneous
CIR-RESULT	Circumstance-Result
WARN	Warning
REM	Remark
Q-A	Question-Answer
CONC	Concessive
COND	Conditional
COOR	Coordinate
ANTI	Antithetical
IND QUES	Indirect Question
IND Q	Indirect Quote
MIS IMPR Q	Mistaken Impression Quote
ALT	Alternation
ALT IND QUES	Alternative Indirect Question
ALT DIR QUES	Alternative Direct Question
DIR Q	Direct Quote
EQU	Equational
EQU DIR Q	Equational Direct Quote
EQU IND Q	Equational Indirect Quote
NON-SP IND Q	Non-speech Indirect Quote

In this diagram, each etic type is represented by a labelled circle. Dotted extensions of circles indicate presence of further specialized types. Etic sentence types that are similar enough to be subtypes of the same emic sentence type or that are of similar derivation are grouped together within a continuous closed curve (marking nine subneighborhoods). A solid line connects etic sentence types that are in a transformational or paraphrastic relation. Such sentence types may encode the same lexical stuff and are sometimes suspect of being the same emic type. Dotted lines connect sentence types with looser structural resemblances or with possible adjacent placement in sentence systems.

In this study I have considered Simple, Coordinate, Antithetical, Alternative, Direct Quotation, and Non-speech Indirect Quotation Sentences to be basic types of sentence structure. This is highlighted on the above chart in that the circles representing these types have double lines.

4.1 Conjoining

Sentences that are represented on the left hand side of the neighborhood chart do not have nuclear Formula tagmemes but are conjoined sentences.

As has been observed Coordination is a very loose noncommittal sort of conjoining. Coordination may join lexical material that, were the speaker more specific, could be expressed as an Antithetical Sentence, as some variety of time sentence (subneighborhood three) or as an Amplification Sentence (or even as some other sentence type in subneighborhood one). For this reason solid lines join the Coordinate Sentence to Antithetical Sentence, to subneighborhood three, and to subneighborhood one. Furthermore, the Coordinate Sentence, as well as some of the sentences in subneighborhoods three and one may reduce to a variety of Merged Sentence--granted the proper lexical and grammatical constraints peculiar to a given Merged Sentence type in a given language. For this reason, a solid line joins the Coordinate to subneighborhood two as well. Because of the central position of the Coordinate Sentence it lines up systematically in given systems with any of the elements to which it is connected by solid or dotted lines. This is indicative of the nonspecific nature of the Coordinate Sentence as a logico-linguistic category. Thus, on occasion, a Coordinate Sentence may line up in the same column with the Antithetical and/or Alternation Sentences. It may also, however, line up with sentences from subneighborhoods one or four or with the Simple Sentence when the latter is not extrasystemic.

There are apparently not many specialized varieties of *Coordinate Sentence*. One such variety, however, is the *Coordinate Extension Sentence* (so termed by Gordon Svelmoe for Mansaka) where such constructions as the following are found: 'Take along the lunch, even the rice-wine take that also'. Often such constructions are lexically chiasmic (i.e. AB-BA in lexical structure: (A) 'Take along' (B) 'lunch'; (B) 'even the rice-wine' (A) 'take that also.') Such chiasmus may also characterize parallel sentences in subneighborhood one.

The etic sentence types indicated in subneighborhood one, *Paraphrase*, *Parallel*, *Recapitulation*, and *Amplification* are derived from conjoining of exponents of TEXT and EXPOSITION in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS or EXHORTATION and REINFORCEMENT in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. They are illustrated by the following English examples: I was very angry, I was furious at the perfidity of the man. Man proposes; God disposes. I went home, I went home to see what was really going on. I acquired a cat --that was the beginning of our troubles. While all these etic types reject a medial marker in English they occur with such markers in some languages (cf. Inibaloi).

The merged sentences of subneighborhood two can reflect a variety of relationships. What they have in common is considerable lexical restriction of the adjoined *Bases* and a syntactically ambivalent noun which is often found at the seam of the two *Bases*. Note the English *I saw them cross the river* where *them* is object of the clause which expounds *Base 1* and subject of the clause which expounds *Base 2*. The first verb has something to do with observation or detection, and non-progressive versus progressive meanings are distinguished in the second *Base* (cf. *I saw them crossing the river*).[47] A different set of constraints hold in the (Causative) English merged sentence: *I finally got him nominated* or *I won't have you do that*.

Subneighborhood three includes a variety of sentence types all of which are temporal. Most of them are derived from structures consisting of a *Time Margin* (or in one case *Circumstantial Margin*) plus a sentence nucleus. The exponent of *Time Margin* is brought into the nucleus either by addition of a marker which cross-references to and counterbalances the *Relator* of the incorporated *Relator-Axis Sentence* or by deletion of the *Relator* and creation of a juxtaposed time sentence with a 'when...then' structure or something on that order. Time sentences that indicate a sequence of events or steps are generated, however, directly from the nuclei of NARRATIVE or PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS by conjoining exponents of two or more successive BUILD-UP or STEP tagmemes.

A variety of etic temporal sentence types are indicated in subneighborhood three. In an etic *Sequence Sentence* the events are discrete and successive: 'First I tried to find a job in London, then I looked for work in Southhampton'. In an etic *Extent Sentence*, one event extends right up to the inception of the next: 'Keep working until 12:15, then take a one half hour lunch period.' In an etic *Simultaneous Sentence* two events are coextensive: 'As he walked he prayed'. In an etic *Time Horizon Sentence*, one event (continuous) provides the *Time Horizon* for the other (punctiliar); 'While they were there, she became pregnant'. This very easily grades into an etic *Circumstance-Result Sentence*: 'In that they were married, she became pregnant'. While the latter three English examples are margin-nuclear structures, they parallel and illustrate sentences of other languages where such margins merge with nuclei to form new nuclear patterns (cf. 2.4.3; 2.4.4.5).

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[47] Cf. F. R. Palmer, *A Linguistic Study of the English Verb*, (London, 1965), pp. 170-1.

These etic sentence types may group in various ways in the emic sentence structure of a language. Thus an emic *Sequence Sentence* may include *Extent Sentence* and even a *Time Horizon Sentence* in which an event takes place at the end of the continuous state or activity: 'When they had been there a long time, she became bored and restless'. On the other hand an emic *Simultaneous Sentence* may include the *Time Horizon Sentence*, or even a *Circumstance-Result Sentence*--or for that matter two discrete successive events (etic *Sequence Sentence*) which the speaker wants to emphasize as having taken place at approximately the same time. For a study of some groupings and contrasts in this semantic area, see Inibaloi *Sequence* (2.3.1.2) and *Simultaneous* (2.4.3.6) *Sentences*.

Subneighborhood four includes four more etic sentence types that are derived from paragraph structures. *Result Sentences* are derived from a TEXT-RESULT sequence in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS or from an EXHORTATION-RESULT sequence in a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH. Thus, such a sequence as 'They are most unfriendly. They never receive strangers without expression of hostility and suspicion' (which is paragraph-level TEXT-RESULT sequence) can be made into one sentence: 'They are most unfriendly, so they never receive strangers without expression of hostility and suspicion'. In the same way 'Do your work faithfully day by day. Then you won't have cause to fear final examination' (an EXHORTATION-RESULT sequence) can be converted to one sentence by insertions of 'so' (provided that the resultant construction in a given language is not simply a nucleus plus a *Purpose Margin*). Etic *Warning Sentences* are not dissimilar: 'We shouldn't let our torches go out; otherwise we won't be able to see the trail when we go home' (from Inibaloi). This resembles, as I have said, a paragraph-level EXHORTATION-WARNING sequence: 'We shouldn't let our torches go out. If we let our torches go out, we won't be able to see the trail when we go home.' Obviously, these two etic sentence types (*Result* and *Warning*) may constitute one emic sentence structure in a given language--or the logico-linguistic relationships that they encode may be handled not as sentence types at all but as a nucleus plus *Purpose Margin*, *Result Margin*, or even as *Cause Margin*.

Question-Answer and *Remark Sentences* are derived from DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS. The former conjoins exponents of SPEECH$_1$ (QUESTION) and SPEECH$_3$ (ANSWER). While this is not a normal sentence pattern in English, it is in Western Bukidnon Manobo: 'Oh, what did she do, she continuously wept.' In Agta, *Inferential Sentence* is much like what we here term the etic *Remark Sentence*. It may be considered to be derived by conjoining exponents of nuclear PROPOSAL or REMARK with the peripheral REMARK also found in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS, as in: 'They ought to teach them good things so that they will consider them; after all it is not true that the Lord Jesus is not with them...' The part of the sentence that corresponds to the paragraph level peripheral REMARK may be a rhetorical question, i.e. a remark in question form but not one that expects an answer: 'A person is only guessing when it will rain; after all is there any sign of it?' (from Agta). *Remark Sentences*, on the other hand, also resemble in some ways *Circumstance-Result Sentences*. Thus, the above Agta sentence (which actually contains a medial *Marker baka* 'since/after all') might be conceived of as derived from a nucleus plus *Circumstantial Margin* instead of from elements of the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. I have assigned it to the latter in that the frequent use of rhetorical question in the Agta sentence types seems indicative of a dialogue base. Nevertheless, in the neighborhood diagram a solid line connects *Circumstance-Result Sentence* of subneighborhood three to the *Remark Sentence* of subneighborhood four.

The *Antithetical Sentence*, as we have seen, can have specialized types. Thus, etic sentence types may especially mark the negative *Thesis* and the positive *Antithesis* with a separate conjunction, or may (somewhat more rarely) especially mark the positive *Thesis* and the negative *Antithesis*. Or there may be special etic types dependent on occurrences of antonyms, contrasting adjectives or more diffuse culturally appropriate and discourse-conditioned contrasts.

Subneighborhood five consists of etic sentence types derived by incorporating *Implicational*, i.e. *Concessive* and *Conditional Margins* into the nucleus. Sentences with *Concessive Margins* or *Concessive Sentences* are lexically akin to *Antithetical Sentences* to which they may transform. Thus 'Although she went downtown nevertheless I stayed home' may be paraphrased as: 'She went downtown but I stayed home'. There is also paraphrase relation with some varieties of *Circumstance-Result Sentences* of subneighborhood four--since a *Concessive Sentence* encodes a circumstance in spite of which something was accomplished. *Conditional Sentences* and *Concessive Sentences* are similar in many ways. Often, in fact only the addition of such a word as 'even' before 'if' distinguishes the *Relators* of the incorporated

Concessive Relator-Axis Sentences from that of the incorporated *Conditional Relator-Axis Sentence*. The counterbalancing medial *Markers* are, however, distinctive: '*If* he comes, *then* I won't go' versus '*Even if* he comes *still* I won't go'. Both the *Concessive* and *Conditional Sentences* have several specialized types in some languages (noticeably Bontoc and Balangao). This follows from the fact that straightforward, semantically unspecialized concession or condition is expressed not by sentence types at all but by margins plus nuclei.

4.2 Sentences with *Formulas* and sentence-level equations

If quotation as such is a basic mode of sentence formation, the *Direct Quote Sentence* is kernel to several other types of *Quotation Sentence*. It is not, however, kernel to the quasi-quotational types found in subneighborhood six nor to the even more distantly related formula sentences of subneighborhood seven. The relation of the *Direct Quote Sentence* to the *Indirect Question Sentence* will be mentioned under the discussion of subneighborhood nine.

Only rarely does more than one emic type of *Direct Quote Sentence* need to be posited. In Tausug, two types are posited: *Heard Direct Quote* and *Hearsay Direct Quote*. In Dibabawon, four types of *Direct Quote Sentence* are posited.

In most languages, (a noticeable exception is Agta) a *Direct Quote* may be paraphrased as an *Indirect Quote* (of subneighborhood six) and an *Equational Quote* (of subneighborhood eight). Thus: 'He said "I'll come immediately"' may be transformed to 'He said that he would come immediately' and 'What he said was "I'll come immediately"' or 'What he said was that he would come immediately'. While I do not know of a language in the Philippines or elsewhere where *Direct* and *Indirect Quote* both occur but constitute only one emic sentence type, evidence from the study of Philippine languages indicates that *Direct Quote* and (*Direct*) *Equational Quote* must be handled as a pair of etic sentence types suspect of constituting but one sentence while *Indirect Quote* and (*Indirect*) *Equational Quote* must be similarly handled. In the neighborhood chart a solid line connects, therefore, the *Direct Quote Sentence* and the *Equational Quote*. A solid line also connects the entire subneighborhood six with the entire subneighborhood eight--since Quasi-quotational sentences as a whole may be paraphrased as balanced or equational sentences.

Subneighborhood six comprises not only the *Indirect Quote*, which is a paraphrase of the *Direct Quote* but other etic types. Several of these types are grouped together under the rubric

Non-speech Indirect Quote Sentences--which constitute a primitive on the sentence level. Among these etic types we find the *Thought Sentence* and the *Sensate Sentence*. The *Thought Sentence* contains such verbs as 'think', 'remember', 'forget', 'surmise', 'conclude' (or even 'know') in its formula: 'I concluded that the whole undertaking was useless'. In the *Sensate Sentence*, a verb such as 'feel', 'hear', 'see', 'observe' (or even in some languages 'smell') occurs in the *Formula*: 'I heard that they were coming'. In some languages, certain of the above occur along with some formal indication that what is said, thought, or observed is false. Consequently an etic *Mistaken Impression Sentence* type is posited; 'I thought [falsely] that it couldn't happen here'. [implication 'but it did anyway']. In English this is usually accomplished simply by intonation (with a peak on the verb in the quotation formula, with run-on intonation and without final pause at the end): *I thought he wouldn't come*... In Philippine languages a specific particle usually is employed to give this implication. Obviously such sentences are not dissimilar to *Antithetical Sentences*. In fact if the *Antithesis* with 'but' is regularly expressed they are probably a subtype of the *Antithetical Sentence*. For this reason a solid line joins the *Mistaken Impression Sentence* with the *Antithetical Sentence*.

Subneighborhood six also includes the *Indirect Question*. In some languages an *Indirect Question* is no different in form from the *Indirect Quote*. In other languages the two are quite distinct, as in classical Latin where *Indirect Quotes* (Statements) have an indicative verb in their quotation tagmeme while *Indirect Questions* have a subjunctive verb in the corresponding position.

Subneighborhood seven comprises other sentence types that are not quotational but which also have initial *Formula* tagmemes. To date, such sentence types are so language specific that I do not set up specific etic sentence types in subneighborhood seven. In Western Bukidnon Manobo there is a subtype of the *Inference* (or *Thought Quotation* as it is termed here) that might be called an *Evaluation Sentence*: 'It's true/false/clear that...' Possibly a general etic subtype could be posited here with expansion to include 'possible', 'probable', etc. This is not unlike the *Benefit Sentence* posited by Ursula Post for Binukid (Manobo): 'It's good that I have a companion' and 'It's best that we each have our own work'. This in turn grades off into a *Comparison Sentence* (also Binukid (Manobo)): 'It's better that I live with someone else...than to live with my parents'. In Balangao and Bontoc special sentence types are posited (*Referential Quotes*) that might be called *Citation Sentences*: '...what you refer to here as *bomoda*'. A formula-like word *amoh* is prefixed to Balangao *Rhetorical Question Sentences*; it implies an opposite truth value: '*amoh* it won't get wet? [implication: Of course it will!]'; and '*amoh* that's exactly necessary? [implication: Of course it isn't!]'. In Tausug a formula-like word *sin* 'whereas', 'really' is prefixed to *Refutation Sentences*: '*sin* it wasn't I who stole the coconuts!' '*sin* you did so lie to me!' The above seem to pass inspection as emic sentence types in that the addition of such a one-word *Formula* lexically and grammatically restricts the following *Base* exponent. Nevertheless, all such etic types with one-word initial *Formulas* are initially suspect of being simply *Simple Sentences* with a particular exponent of a sentence-initial conjunction slot (this may, as a matter of fact, be their derivation). For this reason the *Simple Sentence* is reintroduced on the right hand margin of the sentence neighborhood diagram and a solid line connects it with subneighborhood seven.

Subneighborhood eight includes not only *Equational Quotation Sentences* but also the *Reason Sentence*--which is an equational sentence which incorporates teleological margins (*Cause* and *Purpose*)--and any other sort of *Equational Sentence* (e.g. one which incorporates a *Time Margin*). Thus: 'The reason that he went downtown was to escape from the house.' 'The reason he went downtown was because he was bored sitting around.' 'Corn-harvesting is when we have the most fun.' The last example, in which exponents of *Time Margin* are incorporated into an *Equational Sentence* is witnessed to by Dibabawon Manobo. A dotted line connects *Equational Sentence* with subneighborhood three in that temporal relations based on incorporated *Time Margins* characterize both regions of the chart. All equational types are, of course, suspect with the *Equational Quotation Sentences* in that sometimes one sentence type will accommodate them all. On the other hand more than one type may need to be posited.

While the *Equational Direct Quotation Sentence* is suspect with the *Direct Quote Sentence*, sentences of subneighborhood six are suspect of being one sentence type with corresponding sentences of subneighborhood eight. 'He told him that Jim had been hurt' and 'What he told him was that Jim had been hurt'. 'He thought that the whole thing looked bad' and 'What he thought was that the whole thing looked bad'. 'He discovered that everyone was discouraged' and 'What he discovered was that everyone was discouraged'.

Finally, the *Equational Sentences* bear a certain resemblance to Equational Clauses (cf. 2.7). For this reason a solid line connects subneighborhood eight and the *Simple Sentence*.

4.3 *Alternation Sentences*

In some languages, the *Alternation Sentence* involves a preposed *Formula*; in others it does not. As we have seen, the

Alternation Sentence sometimes lines up in sentence systems within the same column as the Antithetical Sentence (since both involve positive-negative contrast, antonyms, and other more ad hoc sorts of contrasts), or with both the Antithetical and Coordinate Sentences. In Tausug, the Alternation Sentence lines up systematically with the Coordinate and Sequence Sentences.

The Alternation Sentence shares with the sentence types of subneighborhood one a common tendency towards formal and/or semantic parallelism. In some languages (cf. Inibaloi) 'or' is used in a weakened sense in which it no longer intervenes between alternatives but introduces a synonym or rephrasing of Base 1 much in the manner of a Paraphrase Sentence: 'If we are able to raise our standard of living or improve our general condition...'. A solid line joins therefore subneighborhood one to the Alternation Sentence.

The Alternation Sentence and the two Alternative Question Sentences of subneighborhood nine are suspect of comprising but one emic type as is seen by comparing 'Are you coming or not' with 'I'm asking you, are you coming or not' or 'I'm asking you whether you are coming or not'. In some languages, e.g. Western Bukidnon Manobo, alternatives are not expressed without some Formula as 'I'll see...' or 'I don't know...'. In other languages such a Formula may be posited as an optional element in the Alternation Sentence. In either case, but one emic sentence type need be posited. In other languages the Alternation Sentence and the Alternative Question Sentences are clearly separate structures--although the former may embed within the latter. For the languages included in this study, the two Alternative Question Sentences, Direct and Indirect, constitute separate sentence types only in Aborlan Tagbanwa. In some of the other languages each of them belongs to a distinct sentence type. Thus, the Alternative Direct Question may combine with the Direct Quote Sentence, while the Alternative Indirect Question may combine with (a) Indirect Question; or (b) Indirect Question plus Indirect Quote; or (c) Alternation Sentence.

In comparing the etic Alternative Indirect Question with the etic Indirect Question, the following are relevant: (a) If the direct question that is transformed to indirect be of the yes-no variety, then alternatives are implied whether or not they are stated: 'He asked me whether you were coming [or not]'. (b) But if the direct question that is so transformed be an information (or content) question, then no alternatives are implied: 'He asked me when you were coming'. 'I can't say what he is doing'.

4.4 Summary observations

Looking again at the neighborhood scheme as a whole, several observations can be made as to recognizable groupings larger than a subneighborhood.

(1) The neighborhood is one continuous structure which might better be represented upon a cylinder. Repetition of *Simple Sentence* on both edges of the graph symbolizes this continuity.

(2) The sentence neighborhood consists of two interlocking halves in one of which the *Coordinate* and *Antithetical Sentences* are focal, in the other of which the *Direct Quotation* and *Non-Speech Indirect Quotation* are focal.

(3) The prominence of *Coordinate* and *Antithetical* in the left half of the chart leads one to posit that conjoining is basic in that area. Juxtaposition is conjoining with a nul *Link* or *Marker*. The most typical structure in the left hand side of the chart is the *Coordinate Sentence*.

(4) In subneighborhoods one, four, and part of three the basic derivative process is conjoining (or juxtaposition) into one sentence of exponents of consecutive tagmemes (i.e. component sentences) within the several paragraph types.

(5) In neighborhood five, most of neighborhood three, and in part of neighborhood eight, the basic derivative process is that consisting in bringing an exponent of a sentence margin into the nucleus.

(6) Quotation is basic to the right hand side of the chart whose most typical structure is the *Direct Quote Sentence*. Subneighborhood six is an area where less typical quotation structures are found. Subneighborhood nine is an area where quotation and alternation intersect. Subneighborhood eight is an area where quotation and equational structures intersect. Subneighborhood seven is an area characterized by a formal feature typical of quotation, the presence of a *Formula* tagmeme, but not properly quotative.

(7) Ties between the two halves of the chart are: (a) The *Alternation Sentence* (of the right side) has certain systemic resemblances to the *Coordinate* and the *Antithetical*, and an even closer tie to sentence types in subneighborhood one. (b) The *Antithetical Sentence* (of the left side) has a particular tie with the *Mistaken Impression Sentence* of subneighborhood six. (c) There is a resemblance between the *Equational Sentence* of subneighborhood eight and certain sentences of subneighborhood three.

(8) The *Simple Sentence* occupies a position of peculiar interest. Sentence types of subneighborhoods seven and eight

have nuclei which resemble single clauses and hence Simple Sentence. They may in fact be set up as etic sentence types in some languages only to be collapsed later into Simple Sentences. Thus the Simple Sentence has some close ties with the right hand side of the chart. On the other hand, some Simple Sentences can be regarded as the end product of a continuum in which juxtaposed sentences (whether Coordinate or from neighborhoods one or three) develop into Merged Sentences, then one Base of the latter is deleted until only the verb remains and the latter is reduced to an auxiliary verb. As a matter of fact, wherever there is considerable deletion in either Base of a Merged Sentence the latter becomes suspect of being a simple (one-clause) sentence containing a predicate expounded by main verb plus auxiliary.[48]

It is evident that the chart is neither a classification wholly in terms of logico-linguistic categories nor in terms of derivation and form. Thus, while the formal feature of juxtaposition crops up almost anywhere on the left hand side of the chart so that we cannot set up a specific juxtaposed sentence neighborhood, nevertheless subneighborhood one is a logico-linguistic area where juxtaposed sentences most frequently occur. Again: while the category of quotation dominates the right hand side of the chart, a formal feature of quotation, viz. the presence of a Formula tagmeme, is found in subneighborhood seven but the logico-linguistic category of quotation is not found there.

A satisfactory approach to sentence structures cannot, therefore, be wholly in terms of either logical (or logico-linguistic categories) or in terms of derivation and form. The analysis, like actual language, must reflect a tension between form and function. Nevertheless, the neighborhood scheme gives a cataloguing and arrangement of the lexical categories which are encoded in the grammar of the sentence as well as of some formal and derivational features of the sentence level. This scheme can and will be further elaborated and modified as further sentence systems are described throughout the world.

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[48] Cf. Pike, Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics Applied to Selected African Languages, Contract number OE-5-14-065 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1966), pp. 57-58.

Note on Orthographies

The orthographies used to transcribe data in this report are those currently in use in preparation of reading materials in the various languages. In general the symbols have much their traditional value. The following exceptions may be noted: [ŋ] is written with the sequence ng as in the National Language equivalent; ɨ (schwa) is written in various languages as e (Bontoc, Kalamian Tagbanwa), o (Dibabawon), é (Balangao), and u (Mansaka).

Glottal stop has various orthographic forms; q (including word initial in Kalinga); - (usually only written when following a consonant and preceding a vowel as in Agta, Itneg, and Bontoc); ` (Atta Negrito, Siocon Subanon, Western Bukidnon Manobo, and Tagabili; ^ (denotes glottal + length/stress in Atta); ' (adapted for Batak throughout this paper); - and ' (the former occurs after a consonant, the latter after a vowel as in Ilianen Manobo and Tausug); ' and - (the former occurs word final and the latter occurs syllable initial in Kalagan); ` (occurs syllable final in Balangao); ` and - (the former occurs syllable final and the latter occurs word medial as second member of a consonant cluster in Binukid(Manobo)). Generally, glottal stop is not written word initially or intervocalically.

In several languages, stem reduplication is separated by a hyphen (Dibabawon, Binukid(Manobo), and Kalamian Tagbanwa).

For a typical orthography, see Volume I, page 196, footnote 1.